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it is one of the theses of this book that a man's social value is correspondingly more important, and his place in the rituals is partly due to and partly expresses this fact.

A man's or woman's place in Murngin society is fixed by his or her position in the kinship structure. The totality of his behavior toward all the people in his community and of their behavior in relation to him, with all the concomitant obligations, duties, and privileges, is determined by his being placed exactly in this social structure through the operation of certain mechanisms. Social space in the sense of social stratification has no vertical extension in Murngin society; but the kinship space[7] has the usual kind of vertical structure found in all kinship systems, namely, the extension which is created by the generations above and below a man (ego). Generation recognition does not extend beyond the usual five of the normal vertical kinship structure, but the lateral structure has been extended to three lines on both sides (paternal and maternal) of the line of a man's own lineage, making a total of seven.

The whole of the social organization is built on the pattern of kinship. The kinship system is the fundamental form into which the rest of the social organization has been integrated. The greater part of the behavior of the Murngin can be understood only in terms of his behavior as a kinsman. The very complex kinship structure with its seven lines of descent and five generations in each line is but an elaboration of the immediate families of orientation[8] and of procreation,[8] that is, of the family into which an individual is born and that which he creates at marriage. The underlying mechanism controlling the relations of these two families is that of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage, which here means that a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter but not his father's sister's daughter. As will be demonstrated in other parts of this chapter, the result of this asymmetry has been to give a tremendous lateral spread to the kinship structure instead of keeping it narrowed to the two lines of descent where symmetrical cross-cousin marriage takes place.

The Murngin have doubled the count of thirty-five relatives created by five generations and seven lines of descent, through the division of each of these on the basis of brother and sister relation. In addition, by the use of the principle of age in generation, separating older

[7] See Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Social Mobility*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927.
[8] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

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601 from younger brother in the terminology, there is one extra relative, making a total of seventy-one for each member of the society.

Every individual in Murngin society, looked at from the point of view of the totality of his behavior in the society, expresses all of the kinship relations. At one moment he is behaving as a son to his father, and in the next as a father to his son, or as a son-in-law to his father-in-law, and then reversing this latter relationship with some other person. Because of the classificatory or tribal type of kinship reckoning, each Murngin has every type of relationship expressed by the system.

602 One of the most general statements that can be made about Murngin kinship structure is that the perpendicular or vertical lines in the structure are very strong; they consist primarily of fathers and children. The lateral or horizontal lines are comparatively weak, since they consist primarily of the extension of the kinship structure through marriage. This comparative weakness and strength are an important determinant in the behavior of the Murngin. Various devices are used and customs formed around the feeling of weakness expressed in all the individual's behavior within the laterally extended kinship structure. The most dramatic examples are found in the mirrirri and wakinu customs which surround the relation of tabooed brother to sister, and of the maternal grandmother's brother to sister's daughter's son.

617 Although from the simple relations found within the immediate family the Murngin have worked out this very elaborate, extended kinship structure in great detail, they also, in common with many other Australian tribes, have reversed the process and reclassified the relatives into more general kin groupings, termed subsections by the later anthropologists and mistakenly called marriage classes by the earlier. The subsection terminology groups all seventy-one relatives into but eight exogamic units. This simplification aids greatly in determining a man's relationship to people from more distant areas and functions openly during the gatherings of the people for their great rituals when such identifications become necessary.

614 Geographical space is injected formally into the Murngin social system by the territorial extension given the clan. The various areas with their natural phenomena such as pools, rivers, lakes, trees, larger stones, hills, and plains have totemic references associated with the clan. The clans, as has been stated, are regrouped into two exogamic divisions or moieties which by virtue of their classification of the clans

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778 The sacred ones are used only during the great ceremonies, usually the
103 Narra for the great majority of totems. It is then that all the wells of a moiety and the names of its dead ancestors are called out by the leader.
[562] The camp name is the one known by both men and women. No woman knows the sacred name of a well, or, for that matter, anything else that has to do with the sacred tribal life.

103 The list on page 46 shows that the chief totem of the Liaalaomir
778 clan is a carpet snake. The names of the well are carpet snake's nose
614 and menstruation blood, the latter referring indirectly to the actions of the snake.

The Djirin clan has the shark for a totem (see list, page 45), and the following names for its well: shark's head, ripples from a shark's swimming, hill from a tidal wave made by the shark when he created this country.

Although the well names refer to a totem which belongs to the other clans in the moiety, they also refer in particular to geographical aspects of one clan's territory, so that they have local significance. The same is true of the names of the mythological ancestors.

553 A man's name is taken from his male mari (mother's mother's brother) and his male marikmo (father's father). All sacred names are his marikmo's and not his mari's, but a man's camp names come chiefly from his mari; these latter also usually reflect totemic affiliation.

[778 The symbol of the well is also painted on a man after his initiation
302] and when he receives his totemic name in the Narra corroboree, and on a small boy when he is to be circumcised.

601 In addition to the relatives listed on page 16 as always included in
614 the clan, there may be included within the clan: mari, male and female (mother's mother and mother's mother's brother); mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter); marelker (mother's mother's brother's son); kutara, male and female (sister's daughter's son and sister's daughter's daughter); gurrong, male and female (father's sister's daughter's son and father's sister's daughter's daughter).

601 These relatives, too, may be blood or tribal in their relationship to
611 ego. Men, for example, may be called brothers by ego and be clan members only remotely related to ego. The usual Murngin method of reckoning kin does not always operate within the clan, for, when there have been wrong marriages,[12] the practice of tracing descent through the mother and ignoring the father does not function. This

[12] See pages 103-106.

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keeps the kinship position of offspring of such a marriage adjusted to the organization of his group. The son of a woman and man who have married wrong and who are not dué (father's sister's son) and galle (mother's brother's daughter) to each other is called gatu by the man and waku by the woman, just as is a son by correct marriage. The sons by another wife of the man would call this child of an improper marriage brother, and the other members of the patrilineal line of the clan would call him by the kinship term they would use if he were the offspring of a proper marriage.[18]

The practice of tracing the descent of relatives within the clan through the father, and outside through the mother, although largely designed to strengthen the clan solidarity and create a sharp line of demarcation between it and other such groups, at times has had the opposite effect.

The Warumeri and Wangurri clans have until recently been bitter rivals for the possession of women of clans in the other moiety. Certain members of the Warumeri clan in the last generation married women who should have become the wives of Wangurri clansmen, since their fathers stood in the relationship of mother's brother to ego.

[18] The relatives from other clans would ignore the relationship of the son to the father in the case of a wrong marriage and call the child the proper term applied to him when tracing his place in the kinship system through the mother. Thus if ego's father married a woman ego called momo (father's mother), ego would call their child brother, for he would trace the relationship through his father, because of the influence of the clan and family; but ego's nati (mother's father), for example, would call the child waku (sister's son), instead of kaminyer (daughter's son, daughter's daughter) as he calls ego.

Nati, being outside the clan, would trace his relationship to the child of the wrong marriage through the mother. The mother in the above example would be nati's sister, so that the child would be sister's son to him. Ego's gawel (mother's brother) would call this child of ego's father by a wrong marriage to ego's momo, dué, instead of the usual waku, since he is father's sister's son if the relationship is traced through the mother.

It can be seen that this process of reckoning relationship through the mother by all outside clans is continually changing the kinship composition of the various clans. New lines of descent are constantly springing out of different clans for those of the kin who are outside its limits. A clan that would for a period have only a mari and mareiker and a mari and mokul for the male and female relatives in one's clan other than one's own patrilineal line, could, by a wrong marriage of the male mari—let us say, to a waku—create a gurrong-kutara line of descent for ego on the old mari-mareiker clan.

When a clan develops a subclan within it, and this smaller unit is rather strongly organized, there is a possibility of the same process being applied within the clan that ordinarily takes place outside it. When this happens the mari-mareiker and gurrong-kutara lines may be found within the clan. This occurs very rarely because these subgroups are unusual within the clan.

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614 628 583 601 The Wangurri organized a raid, killed many of the Warumeri men and took the women for themselves. The children who were born from the Warumeri fathers before the capture of their mothers by the other clan were called gatu by the men who had captured their mothers, and wawa or yukiyuko by these men's sons, who were their progeny through proper marriage. The sons of these women by Wangurri fathers were also called wawa or yukiyuko by the Wangurri sons, not only because the fathers reckoned their relationship through the clan but because the mother too was in the right relationship.

In addition to reckoning kin as above, the Wangurri sons, by tracing the relationship of the Warumeri sons of these women through the mother, would call them brothers, just as the new husbands of these women would apply the term gatu to these children. The same procedure would be true of the Warumeri for the Wangurri offspring. Thus, instead of strengthening the differences between two clans, the tracing of descent through the mother for outside clans has broken down the ordinary clan walls and has done much to hasten the process of consolidation that can be seen taking place at the present time between two clans which possess contiguous territories and hold most of their totems in common. A Wangurri man is now head of both clans.

614 582 Below are listed the clans which usually intermarry. This does not mean that these clans do not also marry into other groups. It is felt, however, according to my informants, that the clans listed in the right-hand column are the ones into which those listed in the left-hand column prefer to marry.

Barlmawi	⟷	Liaalaomir
Birkili	⟷	Perango, Djirin, Gwiyula
Bringel	⟷	Mandelpui, Liaalaomir, Wawilak
Daiuror	⟷	Liagaomir, Naladaer, Djirin, Liaalaomir
Djawark	⟷	Darlwongo
Djirin	⟷	Warumeri, Birkili, Daiuror, Wangurri
Gunalbingu	⟷	Kurkamarnapia
Gwiyamil	⟷	Liagaomir, Liaalaomir
Gwiyula	⟷	Birkili
Karmalanga	⟷	Burera (tribe), Wulkara
Kiki	⟷	Maradunggimi
Kolpa	⟷	Perango, Murru
Komaits	⟷	Riraidjingo
Liagaomir	⟷	Wulkara, Gwiyamil, Daiuror
Lummaini	⟷	Riraidjingo

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to the reader, but every article fits into an elaborate ideological system which finds its expression in myth and folklore. The white man is Yiritja, therefore all of his culture is Yiritja; so that if a tin can is thrown away at a mission station the native who captures this valued prize knows that it is Yiritja and has a convenient and workable category in which to place it. The white man is Yiritja because the Malay trader before him was Yiritja, and Malay and white man, to the native, are obviously alike.

The moiety division is a most fundamental category in the native mind. It divides the mother's people from the father's. Ego's mother's brother, his mother, and his wife are in the opposite moiety to him, for the descent is patrilineal, while his own father and father's sister are in his own moiety. Below will be found a list of the relatives who belong to each moiety.[14] We shall place ego in the Dua moiety in order to orientate the relatives to him.

Dua	Yiritja
marikmo (father's father and father's father's sister)	nati (mother's father)
bapa (father)	momo (father's mother)
mokul bapa (father's sister)	gawel (mother's brother)
wawa (older brother) (ego)	arndi (mother)
yukiyuko (younger brother)	galle (mother's brother's daughter [ego's wife] and mother's brother's son)
yeppa (sister)	waku (sister's son and daughter, and father's father's sister's son and daughter)
gatu (son and daughter)	dué (father's sister's son and daughter)
maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter)	natjiwalker (mother's mother's mother's brother's son)
mari (mother's mother's brother and mother's mother)	momelker (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter)
marelker (mother's mother's brother's son)	dumungur (father's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter)
mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter) (mother-in-law)	nati (mother's father)
gurrong (father's sister's daughter's son and daughter)	kaminyer (daughter's son and daughter)
kutara (sister's daughter's son and daughter)	

Incest rules are very rigid, sexual intercourse not being allowed between members of the same moiety. The rigidity of the taboo is illus-

[14] The kinship terms which are here divided into the two moieties are fully described in the next chapter.

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be much more stable in Murngin society than it does in our own because of the operation of the sororate and levirate, since if a man obtains two or more sisters for wives and they are looked upon as mothers, the death of any one of them does not disrupt the equilibrium of the family structure; if the husband dies, his brothers inherit the wives and children and there is still no break within the general structure, since the children have, as the classificatory terminology attests, regarded their father's brothers as fathers.

An examination of the relationship of the two elementary families to the entire kinship system shows that all the perpendicular patrilineal lines of descent except the two extremes to the right and left of ego (the natchiwalker-gawel and the dumungur-waku line)[3] are all in direct familial structural articulation with ego's elementary families of orientation and procreation. This is of extreme importance in the formation of the kinship pattern and partially explains it. To understand this properly, the kinship terms as separate entities must be forgotten and the total kinship system looked upon as a group of interlocking elementary familial units, in each of which there are certain social elements which have an intercellular unity and system of relations of their own.

Five of the patrilineal lines and all of the horizontal lines of generation interlock directly with ego's elementary families of procreation and orientation. The emotional content of the organized system of attitudes and behavior in ego's family is directly connected with the organized emotional content of the other families, and from these latter groups the larger structure and the total kinship system is constructed. The termination of the perpendicular patrilineal lines two generations above and below ego is partially accounted for by the fact that the direct contact with ego's elementary families stops exactly there, with marikmo on one end and maraitcha at the other. The only important personalities left out of this interlocking group of elementary families' structures are dumungur (lower left-hand corner of the kinship chart), mari (male), marelker and momelker. The mari-male and momelker personalities cluster about the mokul rumeru entity. These people all belong to her family of orientation, since one is her father, one her mother (see also mari-kutara reciprocal, page 99 f.), and one her brother. She is in a critical relation to ego because she is the wife of gawel, who controls ego's chances of obtaining a wife. She is at the same time

[3] See Chart II, page 59, for these lines. The reader should use this chart throughout the present chapter.

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the daughter of mari. Mari and his wife momelker, who, as her parents, control her behavior, also stand in a powerful relation with gawel's mother (mari's sister): by virtue of the considerable control exercised by brothers over sisters and reflected through gawel's mother upon gawel, ego is given further power over gawel. It seems likely, in the light of what has just been said, that mokul rumeru's extreme importance has allowed her whole family of orientation to be given kinship personalities. The brother-brother, sister-sister, and for some purposes brother-sister equivalence has brought natchiwalker into the larger kinship group within which he is not a strong personality.

The Murngin familial structure is the fundamental basis of their social organization. In its simplest form it consists of restricted elementary families; in its more elaborate expression it includes the complicated extended kinship system which is built out of a formalization of a large number of elementary families. It also includes a further generalization of the kinship personalities into a grouping of lineage and descent called the subsection system, and finally a dual organization which divides the many totemic clans between the two moieties. We shall now examine the familial system of elementary families and the extended kin group and the latter structure's more general form, the subsection system.

The Kinship System

The Murngin system of reckoning kin, in common with those of other tribes of Australia where kinship structures have been studied, groups relatives by the Dakota classificatory method. That is, there is first a bifurcation of all the members of the group by a separation of the mother's kin from the father's, and, second, collateral relatives are merged with lineal ones through the operations of the principle of the equivalence of brothers. Everyone in the tribe and in all other tribes known to the Murngin is related to a given man and woman by this system of social recognition. A man's paternal uncles are addressed by the same term as his father because they are equivalent to the father in Murngin thinking. The same principle operates in the next ascending generation: the paternal grandfather and his brothers are given one term by the father's children. This logic holds in the classification of all seventy-one relatives found in the Murngin system; for example, the paternal grandfather's sons are called by the same term as the father because they are the male offspring of men given the same term as a man's own paternal grandfather. In other words, a large group of men

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are called father who are classificatory, not actual, male parents; and the sons of these classificatory fathers are called brother by each other although they are not blood brothers. Each brother calls the offspring of every other brother as well as his own, sons and daughters, and the latter reciprocate with father. On the mother's side the mother's sisters are called mother and all the brothers of one's mother's father are given the same term as the maternal grandfather, which means, by the logic of equivalences, that the daughters of these maternal grandfathers must be called mother and these women's brothers are classed as maternal uncles. It can be seen that such a system of classifying collateral kin with a man's own lineage, given the passage of a few generations, associates under one term actual blood relatives and a whole group of men who may not be related.

The kinship system, as stated, recognizes the total of seventy-one kinds of relatives. There are seven lines of descent and five generations in each lineage. The seven lines of descent include a man's or woman's own patrilineal line, three lines of descent related to him through his father and three through his mother. Since each of the seven lines has five generations, it means that thirty-five relatives are created by the lineage and generation principles alone. This number is doubled by a sexual division of the relatives recognized. The males and females of each line and generation either are given separate terms, or their separation is effected by adding a male or female adjective to the general term. For example, son and daughter are called gatu, but the former is called gatu diramo (man) and the latter gatu mielk (woman).

The division of the brother relation on the basis of age accounts for the final kinship term. A brother who was born before his own brothers calls them by a term which means younger brother and they call him by a word which designates him as older brother.

The system as thus far described has concerned only descent and its relationships. The whole structure rests upon a law of marriage by which a man's wife is his maternal uncle's daughter and a woman's husband is her paternal aunt's son. The woman sought by a man is his consanguine mother's brother's child; but if no one of that near relationship is available, the one as near by blood as can be obtained is preferred. The same principle holds true for a woman's spouse. This marriage is not symmetrical, in the sense that a man's mother's brother does not marry his father's sister and thereby have offspring who are related to him through both his father's side and his mother's line, as under the marriage rules of many primitive tribes. The Murngin

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cross-cousin marriage is asymmetrical because father's sister's daughter is not mother's brother's daughter and the former marries outside ego's mother's or father's line; the maternal uncle's son is not at the same time father's sister's son, and he too marries someone outside the two lines rather than ego's sister, as he would if this cross-cousin marriage were symmetrical. The outside marriage of the two, because of this asymmetry of the basic preferential marriage mechanism, is fundamentally responsible for the enlargement of the kinship system into the seven lines of descent. The wife and husband of these two members, father's sister's daughter and father's sister's son, are recognized in each of the generations, and the brothers and sisters of their spouses are also recognized because of the feeling for including a whole family in the terminology if any one of its members is recognized. This general problem of the elaborating of the kinship system will be discussed later. Chart II depicts the whole Murngin kinship system. Ego's line is the one in the center of the chart and ego is placed in the position of brother, since he and brother occupy the same space in the scheme. The whole system is related or articulated in the chart to ego because the system itself is formed on this basis. This means that the kinship terminology is always from the point of view of a man speaking or being spoken to. For example, a man or woman calls his father's father marikmo and the latter calls his son's son maraitcha. The chart shows this by putting marikmo two generations above ego and in the same line. Ego's son's son calls ego marikmo, is termed maraitcha by him, and is articulated into the general chart by placing him two generations below in ego's line. The = signs designate marriage. It is important to notice that they tie two lines directly together. The sign ⌐¬ symbolizes a brother and sister relationship. For example, yeppa (sister) and wawa (older brother) have their direct relationship symbolized by this device, as do arndi (mother) and gawel (mother's brother). The ≡ sign shows that ego and his brothers marry galle and that ego's sisters marry dué. The abbreviated English descriptive terms found above each of these relatives will enable the reader to trace their "blood" relationship to ego.

A perusal of the chart shows that a number of the terms are repeated; for example, mother and mother's brother are called arndi and gawel, respectively, and so are the daughter and son of one's wife's brother.

The whole kinship system of the Murngin people is made up of fundamental kinship reciprocals, such as brother and sister, father

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CHART II.—THE MURNGIN KINSHIP SYSTEM

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and son, maternal uncle and sister's son. Every individual term represents a complex nexus of social behavior which creates a well-defined social personality. Each of these social personalities is but one element of the larger personality of each individual within the whole society, since each male has all the male terms in the kinship system applied to him, and every woman all the female terms.

Each of the reciprocals is considered below in structural order according to patrilineal line. The first relationships considered are those in a man's own line, beginning with those of his own generation—older and younger brother, brother and sister, and sister and sister. We next consider the collateral relatives in the patrilineal lines outside ego's own, beginning with the husband and wife relationship.

Wawa ⟷ *Yukiyuko* (older brother ⟷ younger brother)

The general type of this relationship has several varieties of which the natives are conscious when they use the two general terms. They comprise: (1) Two brothers from the same father and same mother; (2) two brothers from the same father and two mothers who are sisters; (3) from the same mother and two fathers who are brothers; (4) from two fathers who are brothers, and two mothers who are sisters; (5) brothers belonging to the same clan but only tribal in relationship; (6) brothers from nearby clans; (7) brothers from more remote clans and tribes. The intensity of behavior decreases from the first to the last mentioned; indeed, the last two varieties may have little in common with the other five; yet given normal conditions, the Murngin and other tribes with their type of kinship would consider it wrong if certain, though not all, of the rules regulating this relationship were broken. Hence it will be necessary to differentiate among the various kinds of brothers.[4]

The junior levirate is a prominent mechanism. When an older brother dies the brother next in age and consanguinity receives his wives and becomes father to the children. This is not only a privilege, but a duty. Frequently wives thus acquired, being past the age of bearing children or gathering food, are really an economic liability to the heir; yet he must take and look after them.

The junior levirate functions even before the death of the older brother. A gawel (father-in-law) is supposed to give his waku (son-in-law) all the female offspring from his own wives, but there is a

[4] An aborigine, speaking fair English, described the first two varieties as "my proper wawa," the third and fourth as "my proper wawa, but little bit different," the fifth as "close-up wawa," the sixth and seventh as "far-off wawas."

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Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with wakus for their daughters to marry. A waku's importance to a man is no less than that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son, as well as to her husband.

A brother, but no sister, may eat a youth's kill of kangaroo, emu, et cetera, until the youth's wife has had a child. A sister is supposed to help carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

A brother and father always know and keep the tabooed names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and sister that must be treated together (see pages 110-112 for an interpretation of the Wakinu and Mirriri customs). First, she is called wakinu by all her brothers. In its primary sense, wakinu means a person without kin, and secondarily "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish." Bamapama, the trickster hero, a much-loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly, no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear obscene speech in her presence, such as is very common otherwise. Ordinarily, when a man's anger rises, he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest taboos, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, et cetera. The aversion to hearing or using such profanity in front of a sister is called "mirriri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't hear obscenity in front of my sister." An older man said, "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri."

Malambunu had come home and found his food unprepared by his wife, Dangra. A quarrel resulted in which he called her matamakmi (incestuous). She did not swear at him. A near-clan brother of Dangra, Badunga, heard the swearing and became very angry. He gathered a bundle of spears, hooked them one by one to his spear-thrower, and threw them at a large number of the women in the native camp, including Dangra. An investigation showed that every one of the women at whom he threw was called yeppa by him.

Balli, an adolescent girl, called her own mother dalardumaru (big vagina).

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The small letters are for women; the larger type designates men. The figure shows that: (1) ego is all the male terms; (2) he is in direct relation to every female term; and (3) he is only indirectly concerned with the reciprocal relations of women. The reverse of these statements is true if ego is a woman.

Ego, as an expression of only one part—the kinship organization—of Murngin culture, is an extremely complex social personality. We must remember that he is a member of a tribe, a clan, and moiety; of a totemic system; of an economic group; of a system of mythology, ceremony and belief; and of many other mechanisms.

Each individual feels it is his right rather than his duty to keep his part of the system working; hence the proper functioning of the whole. A proper marriage is preferred because a Murngin man and woman usually feel that they have a right to each other, since their relationship has destined them to marriage. This is true of all the behavior of all the personalities in the system.

Nevertheless, wrong marriages occur (see also pages 26, 27). The Murngin have arranged a rather simple scheme to make the new marriage fit into the general kinship system and adjust the relationships of the offspring to other members of the society.

If one of ego's own family marries wrong, the relationship term of the woman this person married is changed so that it fits what she would be called were she the proper galle of ego's relative. Thus, when ego's own galle is taken by bapa, the former no longer calls her galle, but arndi. This is true throughout. When natchiwalker marries ego's nokul instead of ego's momelker, ego no longer calls the woman nokul, but momelker; yet the correct term for the woman is known, as will be seen presently.

When children are born from a wrong marriage, the father calls them by the terms all other parents give their children (gatu). But everyone else calls the children by the term used if the mother had married normally. To use the native expression, "The father is thrown away."[13] There is only one exception: if a father marries ego's galle, ego would not call the children gatu, but wawa and yeppa. In all other cases the rule would hold; if ego's father married ego's momelker, ego would call the offspring marelker and mokul, and not brother and sister. There are recorded cases of this. When natchiwalker marries

[13] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. *Journal*, London, 1913, Vol. XLIII, pages 143-194.

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582 mokul and the mokul is ego's mother's mother's blood-brother's daughter, he looks to this mokul to give him a daughter for his wife. Any
601 offspring from the union would be called galle by ego.

This simple arrangement always keeps the kinship system functioning smoothly. The odd arrangement of the relatives created within the local clan has already been discussed in Chapter II.

614 A child inherits its totem from its father. When the totemic emblem is shown to the boy for the first time the father or clan leader says,
602 "This is your father," or "your grandfather." The boy will always call it by one of these terms. Most men call their totem "father." Their mother's totem is called arndi or gawel, and the totems of other clans are traced by the nearest relative in these clans. If this relative is marelker, for instance, and he calls the totem father, ego would use the term mari for it. Since most of the mythology is connected with the totems and ceremonies, kinship permeates the whole of Murngin culture. Its relationship to the mythological system will be considered later.

Principles of Murngin Kinship Structure

611 The two main elements in Murngin kinship are the patrilineal lines and their lateral connections through the intermarriage of the five generations of the seven lines of descent.

Perpendicular Relationships

601 All perpendicular relationships are *strong* and *unbreakable* since they
611 are patrilineal lines of fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters,
614 belonging to the same totemic clans and interlocking families. Distant *tribal* relatives called father, son, et cetera, are not under consideration. Clan solidarity and family cohesion prevent strife among the relatives who fit into the perpendicular relationship. If ego, for our purposes, is shifted one line to the right, he takes galle's place, and gawel becomes his father; or if he is shifted to the left to dumungur, this again is a father and son line of descent. Each of the seven lines of descent is built out of the restricted family, which preserves its continuity by the patrilineal laws that regulate descent from fathers to sons. The mother, although still considered a member of her father's clan, is through her children firmly bound to *their* clan. To be fully understood, her position must also be considered from the point of view of sister—she must be seen as a sister to her brother no less than as ego's mother.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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Lateral Relationships

Malinowski, in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*,[14] has given a splendid description and explanation of the economic ritual called the kula. Reciprocation is the fundamental basis of this ceremonial exchange which produces a stability and balance in the social relations of the groups and individuals involved. It organizes the structure of the economic group by the exchange of ceremonial objects.

The fundamentals of Murngin kinship also rest on reciprocation, the underlying basis of which, however, is a mutual antagonism between the kinship personalities who form the lateral relationships. This organized[15] antagonism is correlated with a sense of personal integrity or solidarity by each of the social personalities involved. An equilibrium between the organized antagonisms created by the ritual and economic reciprocity forms the smaller segments of kinship, as well as the completed structure when articulated to the perpendicular patrilineal lines of fathers and sons.

All lateral relationships are potentially much weaker than the perpendicular because they involve the partial destruction of an old family by taking a daughter and sister from it to become the wife and mother of a new family to be created. Social change of any kind in a society of this type involves weakness in that part of its structure where the movement takes place, and arouses antagonisms between the families and clans involved. Yet the change of a woman's status must continue if the society is to survive. Women must be given if they are to be acquired for wives and mothers to continue one's own clan's patrilineal line of descent as well as the family system.

It has just been said that the perpendicular structures are strong and the lateral relationships potentially weaker. The perpendicular relations are lines of fathers, brothers and sons, and the direct lateral relations are those of marriage by which the vertical relations are tied to each other. To repeat a statement made earlier, in each generation the men marry the line to the right of them in lateral articulation with their own patrilineal column, and the women of ego's patrilineal line unite by marriage with the line to the left (see Chart II).

Since all the relatives, all the generations, and all the seven lines do exactly the same thing, let us examine the immediate situation created

[14] Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London, 1922.

[15] "Organized"; the term is used in its newer, sociological sense, meaning "socially controlled."

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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582 601 by the dué-galle (husband and wife) relationship, for there lies the basis of the social system's lateral structure. In brief, ego obtains from his mother's brother a woman with whom he copulates and creates a

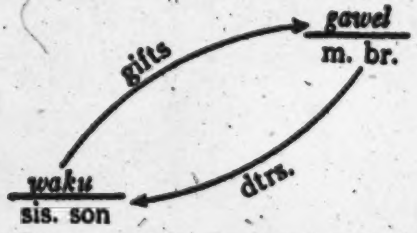

CHART IV.—THE DAUGHTER AND GIFT RECIPROCATION BY THE SON-IN-LAW AND FATHER-IN-LAW

new family; ego reciprocates by giving presents to his mother's brother. 583 More generally, a group of brothers are always giving presents to another group of brothers for their daughters, while the first group of brothers are receiving presents for *their* daughters from still another group of brothers.

This can be symbolized with the pattern shown in Chart IV.

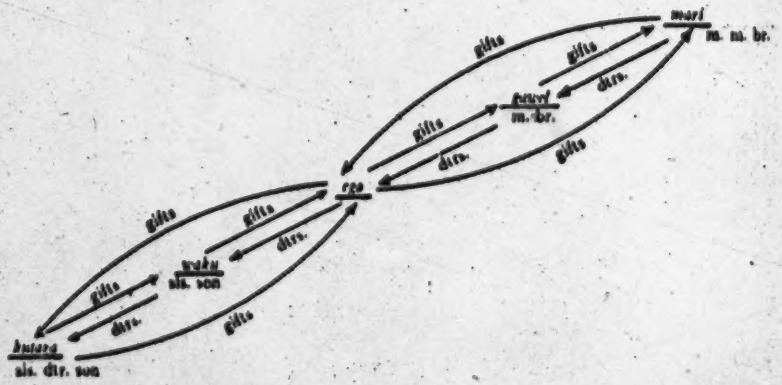

CHART V.—STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE GIFT AND DAUGHTER EXCHANGE

This diagonal reciprocation creates a line of five relatives running diagonally up from the second descending generation (kutara) to the second ascending generation (mari), who are forever exchanging women and presents.

In Chart V this reciprocation has been presented so as to show the

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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core of the whole structure functioning at one time. Starting from the lower left-hand corner, kutara is seen making gifts to ego's waku for his daughters; waku is sending gifts to ego (waku's gawel) for his daughters; ego is performing the same exchange with gawel, while the latter is in a similar position with ego's mari. Thus we see running diagonally throughout the entire kinship system the reciprocation based on the exchange of daughters and compensated for it by gifts, while at the same time new families are being created by the change of the daughter and sister of the older family into the wife and mother of the newly created family (see Chart II).

This same small pattern of behavior (mother's brother ⟷ sister's son) creates other diagonal lines, the two most important of which are the line dumungur ⟷ gurrong ⟷ dué ⟷ bapa ⟷ nati; and the line, kaminyer ⟷ gatu ⟷ galle ⟷ marelker ⟷ natji walker. These lines are also exchanging women for presents, as ego's own line does. To see this clearly, let the reader consider bapa (father) in Chart II as ego, and it will be seen that from dumungur to nati there are people in the same relationship as kutara to mari.

There is always the danger that this reciprocity will be broken; that gawel will allow his daughter to go to another relative than waku; that a series of runaway marriages, wrong marriages, or wife-stealing will break these lateral and diagonal bonds, thereby breaking the relationship system.

Further, the organized antagonism felt by the family whose unity is injured by the removal of a marrying member may result in open conflict that would involve the larger interclan unities, destroying the social structure since its whole basis is the kinship organization.[16]

Custom of the Mir-ri-ri

To discover additional methods for saving the structure from destruction because of asocial actions and to get at the real meaning of some customs that heretofore have appeared inexplicable, let us re-

[16] This organized antagonism which exists between gawel and waku and their respective families is brought out clearly in the myth commonly told of Jabiru and Emu (see Appendix VIII). The attitude of strong solidarity of the daughter toward her father should be noticed; the criteria she applies to her husband in his relations with her father are the normal Murngin ones. The telling of this myth always causes much mirthful laughter. The events of the first part of the story might easily happen, but the open fighting would not occur. The whole myth gives a series of explanations of how animals took their present form, and it also symbolically expresses the antagonisms and standards that apply for son-in-law and father-in-law.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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all sisters accentuates the ritualistic nature of the spear-throwing. Emotionally, throwing at several women instead of one is more satisfactory since the feelings linked with the mirriri are intense and need much activity to vent them.

Mari ⟷ Kutara Solidarity

As has been said, the lateral structure of the Murngin kinship system is potentially weak. The gawel-waku reciprocal is no exception, because of the change of daughter to wife and because gawel may not give his daughter to his proper waku. This relationship is most decidedly strengthened by the addition of the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines of descent. The reason is simple. Ego's mari is gawel to ego's own gawel. This places ego's gawel in the same weak position toward ego's most generous and helpful friend (mari) as that in which ego finds himself toward his own gawel. Many natives have been recorded as saying the following: "Mari is the boss of my mokul rumeru and gawel and helps me get my galle." Through the mari-kutara tie there is strength between gawel and waku, so that a solid bond is established from mari in the second ascending generation and second lateral line to the right of ego, and kutara in the second descending generation and second lateral line to the left of ego.

Kutara inherits mari's personal names, hence an identity of personality in names. Since names are of the utmost importance in Murngin thought and there is a feeling of sameness about things bearing the same name, the great solidarity between mari and kutara can be understood. Even after mari's death he still comes to kutara's aid. He is an eternal source of health and comfort to kutara. The latter, usually a younger man, is also a great help to mari, for he can give physical aid in time of war, is an active huntsman, and, all in all, usually participates in the social life as a mature male still in his prime. Moreover, they belong to the same moiety, and frequently to the same clan, which adds to the strength of the positive relationship.

An examination of the kinship structure demonstrates the reasons for this solidarity. Mari's kutara uses the term gawel for the man who is in the relationship of waku to mari. In other words, the person to whom kutara stands in the weakest relationship, his gawel, is a social personality with whom kutara's mari is in exactly the opposite relationship—mari is strong with kutara's gawel where kutara is weak. Mari's relationship in this case is positive while kutara's is negative.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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Mari balances this weakness in the gawel-kutara relationship by his complete solidarity with kutara.

The whole system can be given algebraic expression if we allow a negative or weak relationship to be symbolized by a minus sign and a positive or strong relationship by a plus. Chart VI illustrates and demonstrates clearly the dynamic equilibrium established in the kinship structure by reciprocation. It has in it, as will be shown later, explanations of the extent and limitation of the Murngin kinship structure.

Beginning with ego and examining the ascending relationships, we see that the short arrow, symbolizing the exchange of daughters and

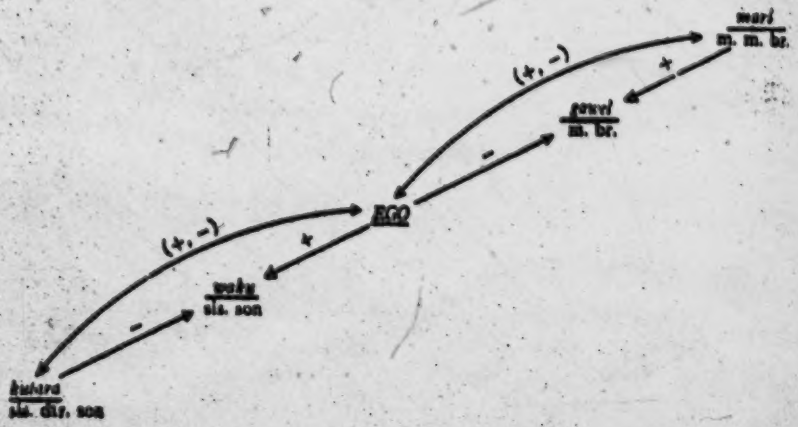

CHART VI.—STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE MURNGIN KINSHIP SYSTEM

gifts between ego and gawel, shows that ego is in a negative or weak position. The same situation obtains between ego's gawel and mari, for gawel is in the position of waku to ego's mari just as ego is in that position to gawel; and in the descending generations the situation is reversed, for ego is powerful in his relations with waku, whereas the latter is weak; the waku-kutara reciprocation is the same (for waku is gawel to ego's kutara). All the charts and all relatives in this chapter are presented from the point of view of ego. In Chart VI (to recapitulate before continuing), the arrow pointing from ego to gawel shows ego to be in a weak or minus relationship with gawel; from ego's point of view the arrow pointing from mari to gawel symbolizes that ego's mari is in a strong or plus relationship with gawel. The position is exactly reversed in the descending generations. The arrow running

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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from ego to waku shows ego to be in a plus relationship with his sister's son, while the arrow pointing from kutara to waku shows that from ego's point of view kutara is in a minus relationship with his son-in-law (waku). These four relationships show two pluses and two minuses equally distributed on each side of ego.

The longer arrows (starting from ego) show that ego (who is kutara to mari) and mari both stand in a relationship which is completely balanced, as does ego with kutara in the descending relationship. The plus-minus relationship, both ascendingly and descendingly, in the mari-kutara relationship expresses the symmetrical balance that exists in the negative and positive relationships that obtain because of the intermediate relative—an equilibrium has been established in the kinship structure. The two plus signs are balanced by the two minus signs to both the right and the left of ego. Mari's antagonism for his son-in-law (ego's gawel) can be expressed by his help and sense of solidarity with ego (his kutara), and ego's sense of weakness with his gawel is compensated for by his feeling of strength when in association with mari.

The social personality of gawel is balanced by the two. He feels strong with his waku and weak with his own gawel, but the very solidarity of mari and kutara strengthens him, for his gawel (ego's mari) will do nothing to harm his interests when the person gawel stands strongest with, ego (his waku), is also strong with gawel's own gawel. Obviously the whole Murngin kinship structure, particularly in its lateral expressions, is a system of checks and balances and establishes a dynamic equilibrium in the kinship structure.

At first sight, the enormous extent of a Murngin kinship system seems unexplainable and almost fantastic. There seems no reason for the spread of the lateral lines. With the asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage system three lines of descent are automatically created: ego's line, the mother's line (which is ego's marrying line), and the sister's husband's line. They must be recognized by the culture because all people are counted as relatives.

Shall there be a recognition of a new line of relatives and the creation of a new set of social personalities? Or shall this additional line of kin be "thrown back" into one's own patrilineal line and called by the same terms as those found in each generation of ego's line? The latter expedient is used to set the final limits on the Murngin kinship structure. When the line beginning with natchiwalker in the upper right-

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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hand corner of the kinship chart marries into the line at its right, this new line is again called the mari, mokul, marelker line to terminate the system.

The new line of kin, however, is necessary if the asymmetrical type of marriage is to remain stable, since, as has already been explained, the mari-kutara reciprocal creates an equilibrium in the kinship structure by balancing the inequalities of the gawel-waku reciprocal. Momelker and natjiwalker are important because the former is the mother of ego's mother-in-law and the latter is the brother of this woman. Dumungur, reciprocal of these terms, is emotionally important because, from the point of view of momelker and natchiwalker, he is the person who has a feeling of taboo for them since the woman is his mother-in-law's mother.

Marelker is mari's son. He follows his father's behavior toward ego. He later will be ego's son's mari. He treats ego's children with all the affection of a mother and father. He is gawel to ego's galle (wife's brother) to whom ego stands in the potentially weak relationship of dué. The whole mari-marelker line and gurrong-kutara line add a check to the gawel-galle line and balance the kinship system.

The momelker relationship is built out of the mokul rumeru behavior. Ego acts to her as his gawel does (she is gawel's mokul). She is the mother of mokul rumeru, the natives say; and just as one avoids a mother of one's wife, so one avoids her mother. The natchiwalker line also acts as a check on the mari line and further balances the kinship system as it stands in the relation of gawel and galle to mari-marelker line of descent.

Murngin Subsections

The Murngin, like the Kariera and Arunta relatives, are regrouped into larger reciprocal divisions. Professor Radcliffe-Brown has called these divisions "sections" when they number four, as among the Kariera; and "subsections" when they number eight, as among the Arunta. His brilliant paper also for the first time recognized the true importance of these divisions and gave them the formulary expression used in this book.[18]

The Murngin system shares many elements with the two major types of section and subsection found in Australia, but in certain respects it does not conform to either.

[18] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Oceania*, Vol. I, 1930.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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late marriage but serves rather as an extension of the kinship system. The earlier writers' own evidence shows that it does not regulate marriage, because the relationship of a woman and man finally determines what persons they marry. In Murngin as well as Kariera, ego always marries his mother's brother's daughter, and it is of no concern which subsection she is in—in Murngin he can marry a woman of B^1 or B^2 if he is an A^1 or A^2. It is her kinship relationship to him that really counts; further, in the group from which he takes his wife there are several women that he cannot marry—for example, father's mother.

Reciprocals

"Man speaking" and "woman speaking." These terms do not apply to the reciprocals of the Murngin people as they do among certain other Australian peoples. They follow a very simple rule: ego and his sister call all relatives by the same term. If ego calls a man or woman "kutara," she addresses them by the same term. This means that ego's son and daughter, whom he calls gatu, are also called gatu by his sister, while her children are called waku by him and by her. Ego's sister's husband calls her children gatu, and ego's sister's husband's sister would also call them gatu. Ego's mother calls him waku.

The above method, like most exotic systems of nomenclature, seems strange and "unnatural" to a European, yet they have only extended a method we partially use. To all ascending relatives, a sister and brother in our society apply the same terms (mother, father, aunt, uncle, grandfather, and grandmother). They also apply the same terms to certain lateral relatives, such as first and second cousin. The Murngin do the same except that they also include the descending relatives.

There is thus extended to sisters an equivalence with brothers almost as complete as is usual in primitive society.

The Murngin reciprocals are:

Wa-wa ⟷ Yu-ki-yu-ko
Wa-wa ⟷ Yep-pa
Yu-ki-yu-ko ⟷ Yep-pa
Yep-pa ⟷ Yep-pa
Du-mun-gur ⟷ Nu-tji-wal-ker
Du-mun-gur ⟷ Mo-mel-ker
Wa-ku ⟷ Ga-wel

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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601

Wa-ku ⟷ Arn-di
Ku-tar-a ⟷ Mar-i
Gur-rong ⟷ Ma-rel-ker
Gur-rong ⟷ Mo-kul (ru-mer-u)
Dué ⟷ Gal-le
Ka-min-yer ⟷ Nat-i
Ka-min-yer ⟷ Mo-mo
Ma-rik-mo ⟷ Ma-rai-tcha
Ba-pa ⟷ Ga-tu
Mokul Bapa ⟷ Ga-tu

Kinship Terminology, Subsections, and Moieties

(Relations of a Man of A^1 or A^2)

601 ~ 617

Moiety 1	*Moiety 2*
$A^{1,2}$	$B^{1,2}$
Marikmo	Nati
Maraitcha	Kaminyer
Wawa (ego)	Momo
Yukiyuko	Galle
Yeppa	Dué
Mari	Natjiwalker

Moiety 1	*Moiety 2*
$D^{1,2}$	$C^{1,2}$
Kutara	Dumungur
Bapa	Momelker
Gatu	Gawel
Marelker	Waku
Mokul rumeru	Arndi
Gurrong	Waku

1; Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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of the Murngin is highly elaborated and permeates all the activities of the group and all of its concepts of life in the world about it; but despite this proliferation of detail of totemic ideas, none of the informal structures have totemic elements as definite parts of their organization, whereas all the formal ones have them. The clan has multiple totems attached to it by authority of the various myths, and the moiety is given these same totems generally by the whole myth. For example, all Dua clans theoretically have the Wawilak totems or the Djunkgao totems according to the area in which the moiety is located. The subsections have definite totems given them, although they are of little importance to the Murngin.

The Murngin clan is a social category which gives spatial form to the kinship system. The ordinary kinship reciprocals can exist anywhere, since a man's father or mari could be almost anywhere in the area, and as a kinship term *mari* is not thought of spatially and in a definite locality, although one's actual father is of course identified with one's own clan. With the introduction of the clan system into the larger social order by the selection of certain lines of relatives out of the total group and the rejection of others through the use of the patrilineal unilateral principle, certain people are given a single unity with respect to the rest of the kin community and are at the same time related to a given area of land. By the inclusion of certain people and the exclusion of others from the kinship pattern, one of the chief functions of the kinship reciprocals is expressed, because the principles which exclude most of the people from one clan include these people in other clan groups and thereby create a clan system integrated into the structure of the larger kinship system. All of the people and all of the clans are related by kinship ties. The kinship system functions as an "international" social system by means of the allocation of the clans to one of two groups. This interclan organization is more simply formed than the kinship structure, and from the point of view of the moiety the segmentation into clans gives greater precision and stronger local solidarities for the people within either half of the tribe. The moiety has spatial significance only indirectly and in a derivative sense: the total territory of the clans of one moiety is its only claim to spatial character.

The Wawilak and Djunkgao myths emphasize the spatial characteristic of the clan by naming its various locations and clan wells, and by relating the wanderings of the two women through the various clan territories; further, the women's travels locate and relate the clans

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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177 501 484

though the dugout was capable of carrying more people than its predecessor, it did not develop into a war canoe.

177 103

The Malays gave all the islands, beaches, bodies of water, peninsulas, and other landmarks names from their own vocabulary, which the natives learned and used in addition to their own. All the locations in the whole territory which were touched by the Malay sailors have Malay as well as native terms. Men who do not know the Malay dialect usually know the Malay place names of a particular district.

177 551

Almost all the people of the Arafura country also have Malay personal names. These names were originally given them by the Malays, but they were passed by the natives to their own relatives through the custom of giving a sister's daughter's son, or a son's son, the name of a mother's mother's brother, or a father's father; and in the female line by giving the daughter's daughter or brother's son's daughter the name of a mother's mother or father's father's sister. The Murngin know which are Malay personal and place names and which are aboriginal in origin.

177 192 601

There were no Malay words adopted by the blacks to describe the various social institutions of the Murngin. No clan or local group, as far as the writer could determine, received a Malay name which was used by the black. No kinship term was adopted from the Malay terms, although it might be argued that the word for father (bapa) in Murngin nomenclature, being the same as the Malay word, was taken from the intruders. When it is realized that this same word bapa figures in the more central tribes as a kinship term, and that in some of these kinship systems it means older brother and in other places describes still different relatives, it will be seen that this likeness in the two languages was probably a coincidence. It could just as easily be argued that our word "papa" was taken over by the blacks and used for their word for father, since white civilization had been in contact with aboriginal Australian culture in the south and east for a considerable period of time. A visiting Malay, had he come to the Arafura country later than the white man, might have argued this were he as uncritical as many white theorists in their arguments for the diffusion of culture traits.

177 113

The Malays only slightly influenced Murngin mythology. Certain myths seem to have a possible Malay origin, or, if not Malay, then some other outside source, since they do not seem to fit into the general cultural background. For instance, the belief that a man acquires the soul of the man he has killed may be due to the transportation of the head-hunting idea from Indonesia to Australia by the Malay traders. On the other hand, it is also likely that this Indonesian idea came by way of New Guinea and then down to Australia at a much earlier period than this last, Malay contact.

Certain native myths have been somewhat modified to make a place

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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GLOSSARY OF KIN, NATIVE, AND TECHNICAL TERMS

Kin Terms

601 arndi—mother.
bapa—father.
dué—father's sister's son (husband); father's sister's daughter.
dumungur—father's sister's daughter's daughter's son; father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter.
galle—mother's brother's son; mother's brother's daughter (wife).
gatu—son; daughter.
gawel—mother's brother.
gurrong—father's sister's daughter's son; father's sister's daughter's daughter.
kaminyer—daughter's son; daughter's daughter.
kutara—sister's daughter's son; sister's daughter's daughter.
maraitcha—son's son; son's daughter.
marelker—mother's mother's brother's son.
mari—mother's mother's brother; mother's mother.
marikmo—father's father; father's father's sister.
mokul bapa—father's sister.
mokul rumeru—mother's mother's brother's daughter (mother-in-law).
momelker—mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter.
momo—father's mother.
nati—mother's father.
natjiwalker—mother's mother's mother's brother's son.
waku—sister's son; sister's daughter; father's father's sister's son; father's father's sister's daughter.
wawa—older brother.
yeppa—sister.
yukiyuko—younger brother.

Native Terms

104 Bamun—the mythological period when "things were different" and the totemic spirits and the ancestors of man inhabited the land.
Bapa Indi—*see* Muit.
baperu—native name for moiety, meaning four subsections that belong to each moiety.
billibong—a general term used by the Australian whites for a small lake or pool.
bilmel, bilmal—singing sticks.
birimbir—the totemic soul of man (*see* mokoi).
corroboree—a general term used by the Australian whites for native ceremonies.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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"Murngin" (Wulamba) Social Organization

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IN RECENT years, the "Murngin" (Wulamba)[1] kinship system and social organization of northcentral and northeastern Arnhem Land, Northern Australia, have been the subject of much controversy and discussion among anthropologists: Warner (1930–31, 1937), followed by Lawrence and Murdock (1949), Radcliffe-Brown (1951, 1954), Lévi-Strauss (1949:216–46 *et seq.*; 1953:538–39, 543), and, recently, Leach (1951). In addition, various aspects have been discussed by Elkin (1933, 1950, 1953), Sharp (1934), Webb (1933), Berndt (1951), and Elkin, Berndt and Berndt (1950).

In this paper I do not intend to discuss this controversy, nor the Wulamba kinship system as such. These aspects will be treated in a more detailed paper to be published in the journal *Oceania*, in collaboration with Elkin. Here I will discuss specifically some significant features of this system of social organization, with particular reference to unilineal descent groups.[2]

On the whole, Radcliffe-Brown's (1951) criticism of Lawrence and Murdock's approach to Wulamba kinship was fully justified. He demonstrated that Warner's material was basically correct, while Lawrence and Murdock's argument rendered the whole system obscure and remote from real life. The material I worked through largely supports Radcliffe-Brown's contentions and agrees fundamentally with Warner's presentation. In addition, a number of further points are raised concerning structural implications, with most of which I am unable to deal here.

In the Wulamba asymmetrical system, based on marriage with a matri-cross-cousin, the matrilineal and patrilineal descent lines may be diagrammed in the manner adopted by Radcliffe-Brown (1951:46, Table III); see our Table 1.[3] Patrilineal descent is shown vertically, with patri-lines traced from the F.F., M.M.B., M.F., F.M.B., respectively. "Matrilineal" descent is shown diagonally. Five generation levels are associated with seven vertical columns. These latter go in pairs. Column L-1 (to use Radcliffe-Brown's labeling) contains persons who are related to EGO by relationships reciprocal to those in which EGO stands to those in column R-1; the reciprocal of NGADI is GOMINJAR, of GALWAL, WAGU, and so on. The same is the case with L-2 and R-2, L-3 and R-3. These vertical columns signifying patri-lines of descent can be indefinitely extended; but those shown here are the basic lines significant to the Aborigines; and there must always be an uneven number of such patri-lines. The diagonal columns signifying "matri-lines" of descent correspond, in uneven numbers, with the patri-lines. The whole pattern, transferred from the kinship system itself, rests on the principle that (e.g.) males in patri-line 0 find their spouses in the right-hand column, while females of patri-line 0 find their spouses in the left-hand column.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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I. "BASIC" LINES OF DESCENT

The kinship system then is, as Radcliffe-Brown has mentioned (1951:48), based on three "basic" patri-lines, i.e., three classes of male relatives in the second ascending generation, the MARI, MARIMO and NGADI. M.M.B. is distinguished from F.F., but M.F. and F.M.B. are classed together. The inclusion of NGADIWALGUR, as a special variety of NGADI, gives a secondary patri-line. Radcliffe-Brown has discussed the "matri-lines" stemming from these, and has demonstrated that the existence of the term NGADIWALGUR with its reciprocal DUMUNGUR makes it necessary to have seven vertical columns. There are three basic patrilineal lines of descent and three basic "matrilineal" lines of descent: on this structural feature we agree with Radcliffe-Brown (1951:49). There are, however, certain differences: see Table 1. Although there are three basic patri-lines plus four secondary patri-lines; and three basic "matri-lines" plus four secondary "matri-lines," only one patri-line and one "matri-line" are of immediate importance to EGO. Patri-line O is significant to an EGO because through it he inherits his linguistic group (*mada*), and thus his clan (*mala*) position. The moiety too is patrilineal: through this line he inherits his ritual position in the sacred ceremonies, together with sections of the relevant mythology and songs, sacred emblems and poles, feathered strings, and sacred uterus dilly bag, his section of the linguistic group and clan totemic patterns. His ritual status is determined through his membership in this patri-line, which includes male siblings of his F., F.F., and male children of the latter. (The females of this line also inherit a ritual status, but I shall not discuss this here.)

This line is the important *babarn*, the male descent line—the sacred line through which a man prenatally receives his spirit, and into which when dead he merges as an ancestor. Magic too passes down this line, and all members of it are of the one moiety.

The "matri-line" (X in Table 1), cutting diagonally across the constant vertical "flow" of the patri-line, signifies a "submerged" line of descent. It is relevant to an EGO, but not to his father. It signifies too the importance of the line of his mother, who through her brother has been able to hand on to her son some of her acknowledged ritual status. She herself, because lacking in executive authority, cannot hand on such knowledge as she may have, but through the intense emotional siblings-of-opposite-sex bond (the strongest tabooed tie of all) she is able to delegate this duty to her brother, EGO's M.B. Consequently, EGO has a place in the patri-line of his M.B.; but this is actually of secondary importance, because his M.B. is of the opposite moiety.

But down this "matri-line" of EGO passes the knowledge and ritual status which skips a generation with the m. and M.B. and comes directly, so to speak, from EGO's M.M.B. to EGO himself, for these two are of the same moiety, i.e., from the M.M.B. to his Sr.D.S.

This is the important *maribula* line, of the same moiety as EGO's patri-line. To all intents and purposes it is identified with EGO's own line, and the rights and privileges which he inherits through it may be the same as those

[text continues on p. 87]

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TABLE 1

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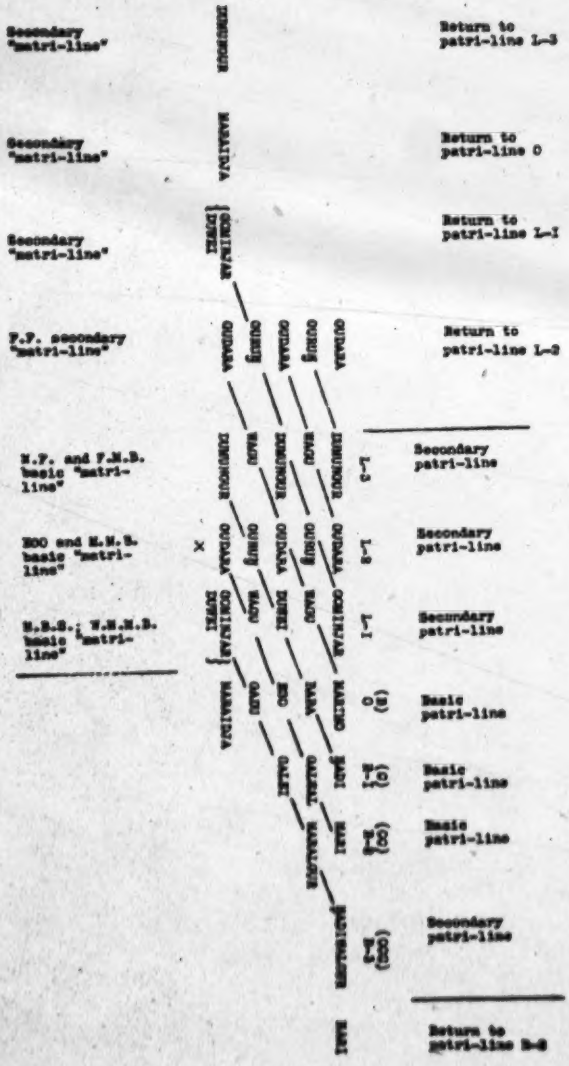
611



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inherited through his own patri-line. The MARI and the MARIMO as cult leaders may be of the same patri-line and of the same linguistic group. They may belong to two parallel patri-lines, in a range of parallel patri-lines of the same linguistic group. Or they may belong to two separate patri-lines of two separate ranges of parallel patri-lines, of different (but closely allied) linguistic groups within the same clan.

There is evidence to show that so close is the identification of EGO's patri-line headed by the MARIMO, and the M.M.B.'s line headed by the MARI, that people do not talk of the *marimobula*, but always of the *maribula*. And if there is some genealogical difference between MARIMO and MARI, as there may well be, it is the *buburu* and *maribula*, the latter being at the apex. In ritual life, in the handing down of the most sacred poles and soul bags, in bestowing sacred patterns like an insignia of power upon the initiand, in passing on relevant sections of sacred myth, religious dogmata, song cycles, "inside" words, invocations, personal names, magical power, and so on, the *maribula* is of equal, if not greater, importance than the *buburu*.

II. MATRILINEAL AND PATRILINEAL DESCENT

Now we, with Radcliffe-Brown, have called this the "matri-line" or the "line of matrilineal descent." There is, as we have seen, some measure of identification between MARI and MARIMO. Descent from the MARI runs diagonally from M.M.B. through the m. to her son; from the latter, whom we take as an EGO, through his sister's daughter to his Sr.D.S.: the *maribula* "flow" is linked through females who are siblings or mothers (m. and m.sr.) to EGO. Power and privilege received through the *maribula* do not go from MARI to Sr.S., but to the sr.d., who is the transmitter, to the MARI's Sr.D.S. The females, the MARI's sister, the M.B.'s sister, are agents in this transmission. Are we justified in calling this a "matri-line," or a "line of matrilineal descent"? Let us examine this more closely. Radcliffe-Brown's definition (1951:43) is unsatisfactory, and tells us nothing beyond the fact that a man is descended patrilineally, being followed by his son, and "matrilineally," being followed by his Sr.S. But in reality here a man is not followed by his Sr.S., but by his Sr.D.S. To view the diagonal lines of "matrilineal descent" in Radcliffe-Brown's way is to deny the significance of the *maribula* and the MARIMO-MARI identification.

A. *Formation of the Patri-Line.* Let us first consider the formation of the patri-line. If we modify Fortes' definition of a lineage (1944:365-66; 1945:40) we are provided with a working framework. It is not a definition of a patri-line among the Wulamba, but it does help us to understand what we desire to show. Thus we can say that the patri-line spans a certain number of generation levels (in this case to the second ascending generation), and includes female siblings of the males of each generation level. But for the purpose of descent it is strictly agnatic and unilineal; females in this context do not, to any appreciable extent, inherit or transmit. Now this is the position of the *buburu* and the *maribula*, as with other lines of descent (all seven we have mentioned above, disallowing

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they are descent lines. But at the same time, Radcliffe-Brown failed to make clear just what is the degree of correspondence between these descent lines and the local descent groups which constitute Wulamba society. Do we, however, agree with Leach's explanation?

Leach constructs a chart (1951:33, Fig. 7), which includes relatives genealogically related to EGO while he is a youth: i.e., those who are socially important to him as a young man. Warner's diagram is thus redrawn to show moiety arrangement. Leach calls the local descent groups CC, B, C, and CCC (see Table 1).

B, C, CC, and CCC are no longer descent lines but local descent groups: B is allied to CC and balanced against C and CCC. B need not, but may, be a part of CC. We may agree with Leach, who says that the MARI and MARIMO cannot be the same person but they can be "clan" brothers. This point has been noted above. The point in question is the "balance" between wife-givers and wife-receivers. What compensation does a group give when receiving a wife? Leach discusses the status superiority of GALWAL in relation to EGO, and of MARI to GALWAL. The argument is thus: B and CC are allies and stand in balanced opposition to C and CCC; taken in pairs there is an exchange of women. In this manner, although the status difference between "wife-givers" and "wife-receivers" is admitted, the over-all system is represented as one of equilibrium. The economic and status relations are considered the most important theme to be derived from Warner's study.

Now, reorganizing a certain section of Warner's diagram, as Leach has done, does not resolve the problems which he raised. The re-assembling of terms actually adds nothing further than facilitating access to material already latent in Warner's diagram. It tells us nothing more than what Warner has already said. The same number of individuals are accounted for: B and CC, and C and CCC, both belong to different moieties. If B and CC are identified as "brother" groups, as C and CCC may be, then an "exchange" of wives is assumed. Thus we can say that the MARIMO (B) receives as his wife a *momo* (C); he does not give his own sister in exchange (so to speak) to his *momo's* brother NGADI, but his "clan" brother MARI (CC) gives his sister (*mari*) to the NGADI (C) and he is thus compensated; the MARI (CC) is compensated by receiving the sister of the NGADI's clan brother, NGADIWALGUR (CCC). Now, who gives the latter a wife? In Leach's diagram a "clan" sister of CC goes to him, thus placing the local groups CC and B at a disadvantage, at least for the time being. There is not really a balance between "wife-receivers" and "wife-givers," and the over-all system (as explained by Leach) is not one of equilibrium. For equilibrium to be attained, the NGADIWALGUR should receive a wife who is the MARIMO's sister, as compensation for having given his own sister to MARI (a "clan" brother of MARIMO) as wife. But NGADIWALGUR marries a "clan" sister (or actual sister) of MARI, while MARIMO's sister marries a GOMINJAR, who may be equated with a NGADI. But need there be absolute equilibrium? And if there is, need it be achieved in one generation, i.e., in the generation of EGO's grandparents? Leach's

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analysis of this section of Warner's system omits consideration of EGO's sister's position, and does not take into account the compensatory factors involved in EGO's own marriage. To understand equilibrium (or for that matter disequilibrium) in a kinship system of this kind, to understand the ramification of compensatory factors, we must consider EGO as an adult, for it is his child-producing potentiality which is important.

B. *Asymmetrical Nature of System.* When an EGO marries, certain individuals become involved. For discussion we may diagram as in Table 2, on the basis of Leach.

That is, EGO receives a wife from C group. His group B (i.e., all members of it), with his MARI group (principally his own MARI), i.e., CC, aid him in accumulating gifts which will be given to C group. These gifts go principally

TABLE 2

into the hands of EGO's wife's father. A division is then made by this GALWAL, who gives presents to the group of his daughter's MARI (the NGADIWALGUR, CCC), who is incidentally his own W.M.B. and of the line of his own MARI; the remaining goods are distributed throughout the GALWAL's *babaru*.

When EGO's sister marries, certain individuals become involved: the same principle is involved here as above.

On a wider range, the compensatory factors involved can be diagrammed (see Table 3). As one may see by a glance at this diagram, the distribution of goods and services (in the form of reciprocal duties) between persons within the two moieties which contain the local groups is unequal. (I am not considering here the question of intangibles.) The only way in which they might be regarded as equal would be to classify all the groups of one moiety as against all the groups of the opposite moiety. Now this may be done in practice, so that any inequalities are wiped out.

What is, however, revealed by Table 3 is the chain of duties which links a man with his MARI, his obligations to his wife's F., and the latter's to his daughter's MARI. That is to say, the main principle, which is simple enough, and which governs the system, is that the MARI, as the most important of all EGO's relatives, because of the emotional bond existing between the two, because of his general identification with EGO's own patri-line, aids his grandson (his Sr.D.S.) upon his betrothal; but he does not aid his sr.d.d., for through her (EGO's sister) he receives his compensation. A M.B. receives compensation

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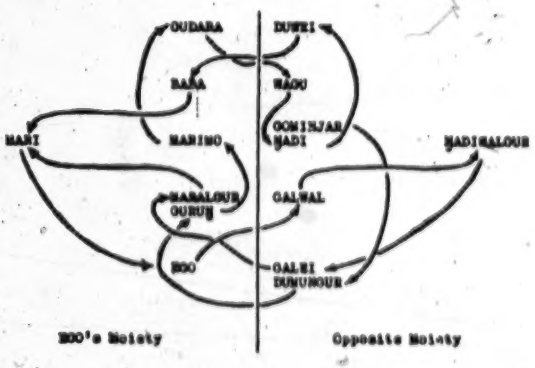
on the marriage of his daughter, but part of this must always go to the latter's MARI. The key positions, then, are those of GALWAL and MARI—the M.B. and M.M.B.; they may be viewed by an EGO as positions of superior status.

Table 3, however, demonstrates the asymmetrical nature of the kinship system. It will be noticed that those in the second ascending generation are receivers and givers (note incoming and outgoing arrows), but the MARI receives more than he gives. This is counterbalanced by his sister's marriage with NGADIWALGUR, when the diagram begins to repeat itself in order to ensure a flow of goods from the outside— that is to say, to ensure that a "spread" or a coverage of a number of groups is made where marriages are

TABLE 3



concerned. There will not in reality be identification of groups within one moiety: it will necessarily be unstable (i.e., as Leach has observed, 1951:52, any system of balances will be unstable).

Or consider the same problem between wife-givers and wife-receivers (Table 4). Three groups are found on *X* side and two on *Y* side: EGO receives his wife from his GALWAL, who in turn receives his wife from his GALWAL, EGO's M.M.B. These symbolize the descent lines of inheritance discussed above. These *X* and *Y* lines are recurrent through the generations, i.e., the MARI (e.g.) receives his wife from his M.B. in the generation level above him. Seniority in status does not depend on a man's giving his d. to a male in the generation below; it is ascribed to him through seniority and position in his relevant generation level. A MARI will always have a higher status than a GALWAL, and the latter than an EGO. Such relationships are implicit, not only in the kinship situation, but throughout social life.

C. *Local Descent Group-Line versus Descent Line.* We may now return to the crux of our problem and examine the term "local descent group" or "local line," which Leach has used in preference to "descent line."

The "local lines" would be, according to Leach (1951:33), CC, B, C, CC'

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Male siblings of any generation may segment with their descendants: this is particularly the case with male siblings of the second and third ascending generation levels. Actual relationship between members of these parallel groups tends to be somewhat vaguely conceived after the second generation, when use may be made of classificatory terminology considered to be more or less accurate. Each parallel group tends, too, to be more or less of the same size. The linguistic group signifying its maximal range is exogamous. Now, in my opinion the linguistic group could be treated as a lineage: but our labeling it a lineage would depend on our definition.

It may be possible to view the *bäbaru* as the effective nuclear lineage, conforming with Fortes' definition (1949:9): thus each "segment" would be an effective nuclear lineage which in toto (and in parallel linkage) would form the wider lineage or linguistic group. But our definition of lineage would have to be made, not only in terms of genealogically traceable male relatives, but also by allowing some coverage of classificatory male relatives who are viewed as belonging to a common unilineal descent group—which is exactly what the linguistic group is.

G. *Nature of Linguistic Group and Clan.* Each descent group is the *babaru;* it forms the basis for the expanded family, spread across the parallel descent groups within the linguistic group. All male members of the *babaru* have a common interest and a sense of belonging to a common stretch of country, of sharing a common sacred background. The head of the *babaru* will be the MARIMO, and it is upon his decision (usually) that fights and feuds are begun, continued, and terminated: he is, more or less, the jural head of his group. As we have seen, several of such groups form the linguistic group, which means that such parallel groups not only occupy the same ground, hunt together, join in sacred ceremonies together, and so on, but also speak a common dialect which distinguishes them from other linguistic groups. As a linguistic group, these parallel descent groups have in common sacred emblems, songs, sections of mythology, and patterns or totemic designs.

Now, it is true that, as Leach has remarked (1951:25), "The number of basic descent lines in such a diagram [i.e., the kinship system set out diagrammatically] depends merely upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandfather's generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society." But the classification of such a system into seven basic and secondary patri-lines that symbolize local descent groups is an indication that a categorization takes place. This categorization is an abstract, so to speak, of what actually occurs. It is nothing so rigid as seven "watertight" groups; but what is inferred is a scattering of consanguineal and affinal relatives, throughout a number of linguistic groups. It symbolizes range.

Within the parallel groups forming a linguistic group one finds all kin who are actual and classificatory F.F., F., S., and so on. One might also conceivably find a scattering of relatives who belong to the patri-line of one's MARI, assuming the close identification of MARI with MARIMO. But usually the

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patri-line and hence the descent group, in its parallel extension, of the MARI would form a parallel linguistic group. That is to say, the MARI would belong to a corporate descent group, similar in structure to that in which we find EGO and his MARIMO, and several parallel groups of this substance would form the linguistic group, which would be parallel to the one in which we find EGO and his MARIMO and classificatory kin of his patri-line. These adjacent parallel linguistic groups, each of separate name, each claiming a separate dialect, we shall designate a *clan*, noting that each clan bears a separate name.

The linguistic group is loosely conceived as the political unit: and this may or may not include the descent group of the MARI. If the descent group of the MARI is outside an EGO's linguistic group, then the latter may be affiliated with the MARI's linguistic group, and become the combined ritual body or political unit. The number of parallel linguistic units found in any one clan varies, from one to several (six or so). And it is highly probable that EGO's *maribula*, which may be synonymous with the *gudarabula*, will be found here.

Now, the linguistic group, and the parallel linguistic groups forming the clan, are exogamous. For various reasons which we shall not discuss here, linguistic groups have, we may assume, grown unwieldy or been driven away from their home territories, and have thus settled elsewhere. Thus we find today that one linguistic group may be (e.g.) duplicated and scattered across eastern Arnhem Land, incorporated under another clan name, and parallel to other linguistic groups of different names. The whole area is divided among a number of clans of varying names, belonging to either of the two moieties, and containing linguistic groups which are often duplicated in other clans. But if EGO's *baburu* is found in one linguistic group and that linguistic group name is found in another part of the country, allocated to a different clan, a relationship is claimed as in the case of the parallel descent groups forming EGO's linguistic group. The same is the case with EGO's *maribula*, which may be found some considerable distance away from his own *baburu*. Similarly, the patri-lines which symbolize EGO's affinal descent groups of the opposite moiety may be adjacent to or some distance away from his *baburu* and *maribula*. In reality then, the patri-lines shown diagrammatically in the kinship system are scattered throughout eastern Arnhem Land, and are duplicated and reduplicated for the local descent groups, each being a corporate descent group. It is probably this situation which has given rise to the native classification of conventional intermarrying pairs of linguistic groups (this point will be discussed in another paper).

Some of the assumptions we have made regarding the distribution of linguistic groups, and their reduplication under different clans, need further discussion. This is not possible here, but must be considered in a separate study. Sufficient has been said to indicate that the basic social unit is the corporate descent group; and the linguistic unit under which this is classified, together with the one which contains the *maribula*, form the other joint body of some solidarity. It is said that the *baburu* and *maribula* are expected to act as one in all corporate enterprises, and their "union" is expressed particularly on

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This corporate unilineal descent group tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line, the composition of which I have mentioned above. This is the *babaru*. It is corporate—the body politic—because its male members will always act together, particularly in ritual observances: it may be distinguished from other linked *babaru*, forming the linguistic group, when such ceremonies are in progress. However closely linked these individual *babaru* may be, they are considered sectionally in one sense as separate entities. Each *babaru* is entitled to contribute its own sacred emblems (which may be of the same patterning as the other linked *babaru* within the linguistic group), and to modify and elaborate designs as it desires. Each *babaru*, among other things, will contribute sacred communal cycad nut "bread." 613

All male members of a *babaru* will engage in hunting together, but in this context they are the corporate group *plus*—and this plus will include their wives, so that they hunt as a local horde. But when they hunt for kangaroo, male members of the *babaru* hunt together and share as one: it is the same with fishing. They are the unit which will engage in feuds and in reprisals - brothers stand with brothers, fathers with sons, parallel cousins with parallel cousins, and so on. They are both the defensive and offensive unit. They can at times be allied with parallel *babaru* for this purpose; but when this is done payments are required, whereas within the unit no payment is considered necessary in cases of emergency. 613 621 [294] [628]

In the settling of disputes in what is known as the *magaraalu*, when the accused runs the gauntlet, his accusers throwing spears at him it is the *babaru* as one which throws the spears, on the one hand, and, on the other, the *babaru* of the accused which reinforces him on the other side of the ground. Allied *babaru* will stand close by, but it is the single *babaru* which acts. The head of the individual *babaru* is also the jural head; he makes decisions and maintains order within the several domestic circles constituting the *babaru* and its adherents. 613 628

The *babaru* too occupies usually a particular stretch of country, but this may be ill-defined, as the linguistic group the linked parallel *babaru* is said to be the landholding unit. It does not own the land, but holds it in custody for past generations of ancestors and future generations. Land can never be alienated, sold, or occupied by another group. (This is an aspect which needs greater consideration.) When we say that the linguistic group occupies a certain territory, we are saying mainly that it is traditionally associated with this. It may not always be present on it. The several linked *babaru* may separate and, at certain seasons with wives of their male members, wander as local hordes over the lands of other linguistic groups: but for their ceremonies, for their burials, and for a greater part of the year, they will be located in their relevant linguistic group, the boundaries of which are fairly clearly defined and are never questioned. 613 621 423

Considering these aspects, we feel justified in calling the unilineal descent group corporate. Moreover, this is the primary unit around which the Wulamba kinship system has been assembled. 601 613

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legal institutions found in the society—and this is a function of political organization." The more we consider the question of lineage structure, the less we are willing to classify the corporate descent group of Wulamba type as a lineage. There are, however, striking similarities. For example, writes Fortes (1953:26), "where the lineage is found as a corporate group all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large." Thus among the Wulamba the corporate descent group, the *babaru*, will be viewed, in toto, by different outsiders as a *maribula*, a *yadjiwalgurabula*, *wagubula*, *yandibula*, *gudarabula*, and so on, depending on what type of relative is found there. "My mother comes from there," or "My sister's son comes from there" thus those people are "my *yandibula*" or "my *wagubula*." All the people within that group will be conveniently classified as "those of my *yandibula*" and so on: all are equally classed with "my mother" or "sister's son," as the case may be, although terminological differences between certain individuals within the group are recognized. But all are held responsible for the actions of any individual within. There is thus a collective responsibility in blood vengeance and in feud, or in running the gauntlet in a *magarada* "peace ceremony." This is thus a function of the Wulamba descent group, as well as, apparently, of the lineage (p. 26).

However, an aspect which demarcates the Wulamba descent group from the lineage is the latter's presumed perpetuity in time. Fortes (p. 27) discusses its continuity, which means its perpetual structural existence—the perpetuation of defined rights, duties, offices, social tasks, and so on, vested in the lineage as a corporate unit. Among the Wulamba, as we have seen, genealogical memory is short. The greatest span of any descent line is five to six generations. But segmentation occurs at any point, so that a number of parallel descent groups are ranged to form a linguistic group, and genealogical connections between them may not always be accurately stipulated. Nevertheless, within the range of the parallel descent groups we find the perpetuation of defined rights which will be primarily of a ritual order, and relating to rights over patterns and emblems, dances, songs, myth sections, and so on; also rights to hunt a particular natural species; rights to make certain kinds of bags; and, sometimes, but rarely, specified tasks like canoe-making, or prerogatives concerning stone-ax and stone-blade quarries, deposits of ochre, and so on. This again raises some interesting questions, highly relevant to our concept of lineage and descent group alike.

It is true, too, as Fortes has mentioned (p. 29) that the descent group must be studied as a part of the total social system. He considers that the main methodological contribution to such studies has been the approach from the angle of political organization (p. 30). Whether this can be done for the Wulamba descent groups remains to be seen. Or again, that descent is fundamentally a jural concept (Radcliffe-Brown 1952): we see, says Fortes (1953:30), "its significance, as the connecting link between the external, that is political and legal, aspect of what we have called unilineal descent groups,

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and the internal or domestic aspects." In the latter context kinship carries maximum weight; among the Wulamba there is more or less equal balance between these two features. The corporate body as such, among the Wulamba, is based on kinship.

As Fortes has pointed out (1953:31), when lineage structure is discussed it is considered "from a particular analytical angle, with the organization of jural, economic, and ritual activities." It is on this aspect that we require more detailed consideration in relation to the descent group among the Wulamba. This is the case, too, with the structure of authority mentioned by Fortes (p. 32), for a lineage as a corporate group. Each Wulamba descent group has an acknowledged head, an elder to whom all within his group look up. He, in conjunction with elders of other parallel groups forming the linguistic group, has special ritual duties and power: his authority is reinforced by ritual sanctions. It would seem, then, that a more detailed analysis of the significance of the descent group in Arnhem Land religious life would be a rewarding avenue of investigation.

In these last few paragraphs my purpose has been only to consider the corporate unilineal descent group (as found among the Wulamba) in relation to what Fortes has termed the lineage. It (i.e., the unilineal descent group) is for him the basic determinant of lineage structure. If that is so, we can legitimately mention some of his broad generalizations in relation to our concept. Further, we have not deliberately tried to show that the descent group as present in northeastern Arnhem Land social structure is, or may be, equated with a lineage. But there are points of comparison between these two separate, but similar, concepts. These aspects of compatibility we have indicated, and they are propositions for further empirical testing.

NOTES

[1] I have preferred the term used by the people themselves: they are the Wulamba, which refers collectively to all their clans; that is, they may be said to be the Wulamba bloc. The varying dialects are collectively known as Miwoldj. Warner (1937) erroneously used the term "Murngin," which is the name of only one clan and should not be used in this sense.

[2] The material presented here was obtained at Milingimbi in 1950; short periods of work had previously been spent there, in 1946 and 1947. More intensive field work was carried out in 1946–47 within the vicinity of Yirrkalla, northeastern Arnhem Land. The initial period of research was carried out under the Australian National Research Council, the latter under the Research Committee of the University of Sydney; both were under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney. The writer wishes to acknowledge the help and encouragement of Professor A. P. Elkin of that Department. This paper was written under a Nuffield Foundation Dominion Fellowship, in London. It was presented in part and discussed at a seminar on kinship theory at the London School of Economics.

[3] The kinship terms used in this paper are in their Anglicized equivalents: these differ in some cases from those used by Warner and Radcliffe-Brown. For instance, *marimo* is *marimo; yeppe, jabo; maraitcha, maraidja; marelker, muralgur; kutara, gudara; mati, gudi; gawel, galwal; arndi, gundi; galle, galri; dut, duwei; watjbwalker, gudiwalgur; kuminyer, gominjar;* etc. Terms in capitals denote males.

[4] The approximate population of Arnhem Land is 4,000; 1,300 to 2,000 possibly belonging to the Wulamba bloc.

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
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Relationship

All the various individuals of the tribe are related the one to the other, but that relationship is classificatory rather than personal, so that the relationship terms used by us cannot be a correct translation of the terms used by this aboriginal community. In the tribe are a certain number of men whom a given individual will call "father," the individual's actual father being one of that number. Certain other men are the individual's "gowal," or fathers-in-law, his actual father-in-law being included among them. 601 602

So all of a number of women of the tribe, including his actual mother, are his "ngandi," or mothers. A number of other women are an individual's "yappa," or sisters, and among these will be included his actual sisters. So right through the personnel of the tribe. Every individual member of the tribe is included in one of these many relationship groups or classes, and every relationship carries with it certain obligations. That is, an individual is required to fulfil the same obligations toward all those who stand in the relation of "ngandi" (mother) to him, as those which are due to his actual mother, and so on.

Thus is determined the attitude of every individual toward every other individual. This system of relationship lies at the basis of all social behaviour, and is of the utmost importance in the life of this aboriginal community. In connection with this system amazing qualities of memory are revealed, practically every individual knowing in what relation he or she stands to every one of the several hundred members of the tribe. This is the more remarkable in view of the dislocation in the regular order of descent occasioned by irregular marriages, of which there are a considerable number. 602 [182] [153] [588]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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to these aborigines, is not just passive reliance on the Ancestral Beings, an inertia based on the hope that "something is bound to turn up" if they wait long enough. They must do their part to ensure the action of the Ancestral Beings; and their part is the ritual re-enactment of the relevant myth. This releases the "power" (or *dal*) inherent in the Ancestral Beings. This *dal* then finds full expression, and fertility is assured.

Thus the myth is thought to express the intentions of the Ancestral Beings, who possess the power to carry them out; and this power is released (or brought to bear) by sacred ritual. It arranges the seasons, maintains an adequate supply of food, and ensures the continuance of the group as a whole.

Before we proceed with the Kunapipi ritual, it is necessary to relate the final part of the Wauwalak myth, explaining the way in which this ritual was obtained and handed down from *wonga:r* times.

The three rituals, of which only one is to be treated here, are grouped together in terms of kinship ties. The *djunggawon*, an age-grading ceremony, is called *katu*, son, and so is its principal ritual object, the long *julunggul* wooden "trumpet". The *ngu:rlmak*, mainly religious in character and open only to adult postulants, is termed *ba:pa*, father, and so is its ceremonial hollow log *uwar* "drum". The *kunapipi* is *mari* (mother's mother's brother), like its main ritual emblem, the *jelmalandji*. Although the relationship term of *mari* signifying the *kunapipi* is one that normally denotes age (that is, in the grandparents' generation), it is less important from the point of view of sacredness than the *ngu:rlmak*, said to be the major ritual of the trilogy. Sometimes, however, the *ngu:rlmak* is spoken of as "the father of the *kunapipi* side", while the *kunapipi* and *djunggawon* are classified together. But in practice it seems that, irrespective of the terminology of *mari*, the Kunapipi is really of secondary importance.

All the Wauwalak-Julunggul ceremonies belong to the *dua* clans or linguistic groups, and are under the direction of *dua* moiety totemic headmen; but members of the *jiritja* moiety assist in the dancing, singing, and making of ritual objects, and may even include certain of their own particular dances based on purely *jiritja* myth cycles. *Dua* ceremonial leaders, however, are recognized as the principal custodians of indigenous ritual, for they possess not only the Wauwalak but also the Djanggawul. In contrast to the more conservative *dua* groups, the *jiritja* have incorporated introduced themes[1] into their ritual life.

1. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Secular Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, 1949, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222, with plates; Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; and R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, for publication.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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796 culmination of all the religious and totemic ceremony of the past
837 weeks, and helps to serve as an emotional outlet. It establishes goodwill between participants, and cements the bonds of friendship, bringing groups closer together. Ill-will and jealousy cannot, theoretically, flourish at such a ceremonial time. Moreover, it draws the women closer into the sacred scheme of the Kunapipi, by entering into the fundamental physical relationship between men and women: for the sexual act is basic to these rituals, its significance deeply rooted in the concept of procreation, brought about through the contact of male and female. Thus ceremonial copulation, ritualized in the Kunapipi, substantiates the religious doctrine, and stresses its underlying meaning of fertility.

Generally speaking, in the Kunapipi ceremonial areas, ritual copulation is termed *ka'rangara*; and in the Birrundudu Kadjari (equivalent of the Kunapipi) it is associated with certain special forms of dancing by men and women on the sacred ground. At Yirrkalla it is called *djambinba*, meaning "the working", for natives use the word *djama* ("work") when referring to the act of coitus. But the exchanging of wives is called *g'ruliriliri* or *lirilirija*.

[609] Visitors who have come for the Kunapipi ceremonies have their correct tribal relationships established to everyone else in the camp. Most of those who are invited are known; but others come from far away (from Rose River, for instance, or from the south of Milingimbi), and it is necessary to determine their approximate relationship to others for the purpose of exchanging wives. This is done with much talk and discussion, comparing subsections, Dreaming affiliations, and so on. When a local man finds that a certain visitor is his classificatory brother, he will send his own younger brother to inform him that he may have the local man's wife for Kunapipi copulation; presents too are sent to the visitor, expressing goodwill. In return, the visitor sends a message that he will accept this arrangement, and that his own wife will come to the Kunapipi for ceremonial copulation with his local "brother"; he also sends presents. This is the normal procedure. But at times two men, without the aid of a third party, will decide between themselves to exchange wives; and occasionally, these days, a man may arrange matters with a visitor's wife (with whom he desires intercourse, or with whom he is
796 having a liaison) without the consent of her own husband.
835
●[601] This means that usually in the Kunapipi a man will copulate with his "long way" brother's wife, whom he calls *kalei* (wife), normally a classificatory mother's brother's daughter or mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, the daughter of her partner's *mukul* (mother's mother's brother's daughter). This, aborigines say, is the pattern for "the new generation", which differs from the traditional arrangement of the old people. In the old days (that is, prior to white
[602] contact in this and adjacent areas) it was customary for ceremonial

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539 that to-day a reef lies there. Finally, we are told that they are worrying about the *rangga* and mat they have thrown into the sea (Song 27); they are exhausted after their long journey. They beach their canoe, and exclaim that at last they have reached their own land.

539 61 In Song 1 (*et. seq.*) Bralbral[1] and the Djanggawul call each other by the kinship term *waridj*; this is equivalent to *mari* or *gudara* (mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, mother's brother's son's wife, mother's mother's brother's son's daughter, wife's brother's wife, mother's mother's brother's son's son, etc.).[2] The term *waridj* is also commonly used at Yirrkalla (although not at Milingimbi) to signify a non-tabued 'mother-in-law' (mother's brother's wife), a relative who, if actually a wife's mother, would be *mugul rumarang*. Bralbral continually asks questions, intimating that he is less knowledgeable than the Djanggawul; and he has little or no handling of the *rangga*.

539 The Djanggawul and Bralbral rest on their oars when they are tired (for example Song 1, line 11), or when they fear a marine monster (Song 15, line 1) and must go carefully. As they paddle they undulate their buttocks, swaying their hips, as they stand and dip their oars from side to side.

Throughout this Part of the cycle references are made to the Morning Star, which provides a definite link with the island of Bralgu. It is said that as the Djanggawul look back, seeing the arc of light made by the Morning Star (for example Song 1, line 14), they are able to gauge the distance they have come, as well as the distance they have yet to go. The Star's disc is an 'eye' (line 16) which is said to 'swim' along through the water (line 17) and mount into the sky; it cannot rise too far, for it is held at the end of a string and must remain over Bralgu. The Morning Star is really a ball of seagull feathers attached to a long string, which in turn is tied to a paperbark sapling; there is not only one Star, but many (see latter part of Song 1). The Spirit people at Bralgu hold a ceremony each night and early morning. They dance with arms outstretched (line 19), and sing. As they pound their feet upon the ground, great clouds of dust rise upwards and bring the dusk which, as their dancing intensifies, turns to night. They then manipulate their long dancing pole (the paperbark sapling), with the long string to which feathered balls are attached (line 21). Each 'ball' represents a Morning Star, which the Bralgu Spirits send out towards a particular place on the mainland; it is one of these Morning Star 'balls' which guides the Djanggawul on their journey across the sea.

[61] [1] Bralbral's name is used to designate a clan in the Wessel Islands—the Barabara or Ba'ralba'ral; the clan is also termed the *baburu* (father's clan) of this Ancestral Being.

[2] *Vide* texts and notes in proposed *Oceania* monograph.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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619 with other adjacent groups. On the border line between western
184 and eastern Arnhem Land there are tribes affiliated with the eastern people, but retaining their own distinct cultural pattern. Apart from the linguistic variations between the eastern and western groups, and the tribal organisation of the one and the clan-linguistic group set-up of the other, the principal difference
[611] lies in the eastern form of mainly patrilineal descent and the western pattern of descent through the mother.

184 The moiety is the most important feature in the social organ-
616 isation of the Wulamba people of the east and south-east. It serves to classify under these two main headings all clans and linguistic groups, the known universe, and the whole life of the people, and affiliates all those belonging to the same moiety. The moieties are exogamous, and are thus the basis upon which marriage rules depend.

184 In western Arnhem Land we find the moiety-phratry arrange-
615 ment (related to the totem) now influenced from the south by
616 the subsection system, which is widely spread throughout Aboriginal Australia. Another feature here is the *namanamaidj*,
611 which establishes a child's affinity with his father's group. This, together with tribal and linguistic membership, is patrilineal;
[617] but the descent of the moiety, phratry (and totem), and subsection, is matrilineal.

184 In eastern Arnhem Land the subsections have not yet been
617 fully co-ordinated with the kinship structure, and many of the older people do not use them. Normally, however, the sub-
●601 sections are based on a system of marriage and descent, and are essentially a matter of kinship organisation. They group various relatives together under one term, in such a way that for general purposes all kinship terms are reduced to eight; and since there are eight divisions in this subsection system, four belong to one moiety, and four to the other.[1]

221 The eastern Arnhem Landers possess certain fundamental features in common with most other Australian Aboriginal communities. Away from European settlements, for instance, they
221 are hunters and collectors who must forage for their food. On
796 the northern and eastern coast of Arnhem Land food is certainly
776 abundant and varied, but its constant supply depends on the

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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ently, a vague condition of communal ownership of land and wealth, with little idea of "value", of the personal ownership of property, or of the organisation of work. This view finds expression in the average cattleman's idea that the blackfellow is a fool who has no sense of value and who gives away everything, even his clothes, indiscriminately, without any appreciation of their worth. This is very far from true, and is due to failure to understand the kinship obligations of the aborigines. It is true that a native who goes to work for the white man on a cattle station in Northern Australia, and who receives an issue of a pair of trousers, a shirt and a pair of boots, may appear, a day or two later in rags, having in the meantime passed his new clothes to a relation. To the white employer this is incomprehensible, but studied in relation to social organisation and behaviour it appears in a very different light.

The most important factor in the regulation of conduct in Australian society is the kinship organisation. This not only lays down the terms which a man applies to all those persons he normally meets, but it also defines his behaviour to them, as well as their reciprocal obligations.[4] For each kinship term, which is used in place of a personal name, is

[4] For those who have no special anthropological training the importance of the part played by the kinship organisation in Australian society must be stressed.

Under the "classificatory" system of relationship the use of the terms applied to *own* relatives is extended to many people whom we would not consider relatives at all, and it defines a man's behaviour to these people, according to the terms he applies to them, and in turn fixes their behaviour and obligations to him.

Kinship not only regulates marriage and behaviour, but it provides for the adoption of orphans by people who, under the kinship system, are their sociological (as distinct from physiological) fathers and mothers, to whom they already apply the terms for father or mother and to whom their behaviour has always been a

602 more than a mere term of address, and carries with it a
431 definite pattern of behaviour. It is well known that the giv-
602 ing or exchange of presents establishes or affirms a bond between individuals. When an aborigine meets a relation of a certain order, for example a person to whom, under the classificatory system, he extends the term brother, he may have an obligation to make a present to him. If it happens that his only available wealth is a shirt or a pair of trousers he will hand these over to discharge his obligation, receiving a gift in return, which may chance to be a ragged shirt or a tattered, worn-out pair of trousers. The important point is that a gift has been exchanged and reciprocal obligations discharged. If one man should happen to be the loser, in the economic sense, this is of little moment. The transaction is in no sense barter or exchange; it is a gift pure and simple, without any assessment of value, and with no deliberate *economic* import, in response to a *social* obligation laid down by the kinship structure into which every man is born. One of the men has given a present to the other. Failure to reciprocate would lay the recipient open to a charge of meanness, and what is even worse, he would lose face, and would in any case remain under an obligation to repay the gift at some future date.

121 The purpose of the present communication is to give an
177 account of the basic economic structure and organisation
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[601] modification of the pattern applied to their own actual fathers and
[602] mothers.

The kinship organisation provides also for the old and the sick, who are fed and cared for, not as a charge on the society, but by their own kin, who accept the responsibility without question as part of the pattern of life in which they have grown up. Cruelty or neglect of old people and children is unknown among the people of Arnhem Land.

777 778 [796] the fine powdery dust (*känno*),[20] of the ceremonial ground, and declared that the turtles were therefore "*yarkomirri*" (lit. "bearing a name", i.e. sacred). A rite was performed to remove the tabu, before the flesh could be eaten by the [431] uninitiated. Even then those people, other than members of the totemic group, who ate the flesh, were called upon to make a payment of the type previously described, called *tadoit*, in this case to the fully initiated members.

182 [461] 431 [561] [796] 606 604 Reference has been made to the obligation to hunt which a man incurs in order to provide animal food for the women upon whom he must depend for the large quantities of food which he requires to meet the periodic ceremonial presentations which mark almost every stage of initiation as well as the termination of each critical stage in his life. This obligation is especially stressed in his relationship with his *mukul rumaro*[21] (potential mother-

[20] *Känno* is really ash, fine, white, powdery wood ash. This man was said to be "*kälya kännomirri*", "skin with ashes", because the white dust of the ceremonial ground was still on his body and carried its *marr*.

[601] [21] As this paper may be read by many economists who may not have anthropological training, some reference to the kinship system of the abórigines may be of assistance. Under the system which is called "classificatory", the terms of relationship allied to the family and to near kin are extended to a number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced but who are grouped or classified with own kin. A man applies the term "father" not only to his own father but to all the people his father calls "brother" and this system is extended indefinitely. These terms expressing relationship are used instead of personal names, as terms of address. This system has the effect of reducing greatly the number of actual terms in use. But kinship terms are not mere names, for each carries with it a set pattern of behaviour. In Arnhem Land a man applies the term *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law) to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. He knows that he may look to this woman to provide him with a wife or wives and the pattern of behaviour

from *kumur djalk*. But because of its known origin, a *ŋämbi lirra* (flint spear head) is always known as *kumur djalk*, and for this reason it would not be appropriate for a man to the north to pass *ŋämbi lirra* as *wetj* to a partner in the south-east.

In order to understand the complicated system surrounding the exchange of gifts and the sharing of food and game it would be necessary to have not only a thorough working knowledge of the kinship system and the obligations, unilateral and reciprocal, laid down by its terminology, but also to understand each of the special relationships which, in addition to those arising from kinship, may exist between members of the society.

To avoid further extending this account, I shall refer to one only of these special relationships. This is *tjukarŋo*, a term used reciprocally between individuals who stand in one of two relationships under the kinship system; *wawamändji*[41] (*wawa*, brother; *-mändji*, those two) or *marimändji*, i.e. *mari* = *kutura*, (mother's mother's brother = sister's daughter's son). Where these people stand in the relationship of brother they are usually half-brothers, the sons of women who are sisters, especially of sisters who have married men of clans on opposite sides of their own clan territories. Another factor is that often the relationship of *tjukarŋo* has existed between the mothers—who are not full or half-sisters—for it may exist between women as well as men. A man extends the same term also to brothers and sisters of his *tjukarŋo*.

Tjukarŋo is a very special relationship, the closest and most permanent that can exist between men.

[41] The suffix *-mändji* denotes mutual relationship together, i.e. *wawa-mändji*, brothers together; *wawa* is really elder brother but is used in this connection to express the relationship between brothers.

ŋäli	⇌	*käminyarr* (mother's father—daughter's son and daughter).
kauwal	⇌	*wäkku* (mother's brother—sister's son and daughter).
duwe	⇌	*källai* (mother's brother's or father's sister's son and daughter).
mari	⇌	*kutara* (mother's mother's brother—sister's daughter's son and daughter).
wawa	⇌	*yukko yukko* (elder brother—younger brother).
bapa n'ymokunin	⇌	*katu* (father's younger brother—son and daughter).
maralkor	⇌	*korroŋ* (mother's mother's brother's son—father's sister's daughter's son and daughter).

People who stand in the *kumur märnda* relationship are regarded as partners facing one another in the exchange system, and each has the obligation to give gifts of the appropriate order. Each strives to pass to the other, his partner in the *kumur mändji* relationship, gifts of the kind appropriate to the *kumur* in which he stands, and the partner in turn must reciprocate, though not necessarily immediately. This exchange is not in any sense barter although circulation of goods on a large scale results. Its primary object, to the native, is not merely to gain goods, for to these people the ceremonial aspect is the important one. As my informant said: "Meaning, to give all the time—*kumur märnda ŋällinya* (partners together, we two)—all the time, till die". i.e. the objective of each is to give in order to maintain and affirm the bond between each *kumur* pair, until they die, when their children carry it on. If two men die who are *kumuryanna märnda*, their wives may take over the relationship, and carry on the ritual exchange. The importance of the *ceremonial* aspect, and the fact that this relationship is

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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GLOSSARY

Clan. The clan (not "tribe") is the most important permanent unit of social life in Arnhem Land. It is an aggregation of families, the members of which are linked together by the possession of totems in common and the belief that they are all linked together by descent from a common ancestor or ancestors. Entry into the clan is by birth alone. The clan group is comprised of a man and all his relations in the male line (since the people are *patrilineal*), i.e. his father, father's brothers and father's sisters, his own brothers and sisters and his sons and daughters and all the children of the male members of the clan. The clan is exogamous, that is, a man may not marry within his own clan. This means that the group which at any time *occupies* a clan territory actually consists of the male members of the clan and their children, including their daughters who are not yet married, as well as women who are members of other clans and who have married men of the clan, minus those women of the clan who have married into other clans and gone to live with their husbands. For this functional, *occupational*, group, the name *horde* is used (see below). The clan is the heredity land-owning group, but the war-making group is generally the horde.

Classificatory system of relationship. The kinship system of the Australian aborigines is known as "*classificatory*" because it extends indefinitely the relationships set up by the family by applying the terms which a man uses for his own kin to a large number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced and whom we should not call relatives at all. Thus a man uses the term which he applies to his own father not only for his father's brothers, but also for all the people whom in the widest sense, his father calls "brother". In this way the family system is extended indefinitely and groups together with own kin, not only all the members of a man's own clan, but also all the people he meets in the normal course of his life. When he knows what term he applies to a man he knows how he should behave to him and also what his obligations are.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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region can note. It is for this reason that Mr Chaseling's book will be read by others besides the general reader. 114

In the rest of this Introduction, I draw attention to a few of the significant facts in the life of the north-east Arnhem Aborigines, and also to some of the important points made by Mr Chaseling. 128

Aboriginal Relationship System and Intelligence

North-east Arnhem Land is a very interesting region from the anthropological point of view. As elsewhere in Australia, the basis of social behaviour is the kinship or relationship system. According to this everyone is related to everyone else. This relationship, however, is not expressed in a multiplicity of terms which express the exact relationship between any two individuals. Instead, only about two dozen terms are used, with the result that all one's relations, that is, everyone in the region, are divided up into twenty odd groups or classes of relations. Thus, in one class the Aboriginal includes his own mother and her sisters and also a number of other women, mostly her cousins, and to all these people he applies one term, the term which includes and means 'mother'; the term 'sister' includes not only the daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters (these are sometimes referred to by students as parallel cousins), but also the daughters of certain of his parents' cousins; and so on with the other terms. This is the classificatory (or classifying) form of kinship system. It does not mean that an Aboriginal does not know his own mother, or father, or son, or father's father, and so on; he does know them—indeed, he is very good at genealogies. Its importance is that the terms used by two people of one another indicate the kind of behaviour they adopt toward each other—whether, for example, they can sit near one another, speak to one another, see or marry one another, and what is the obligation with regard to gifts and mourning with 571 606 601 602

601 602 respect to each other. The 'father-son' behaviour is one type; the 'mother's brother-sister's son', another type; the 'wife's mother's brother-sister's daughter's husband' a very different type; and so on.

582 This system, however, is not peculiar to north-east Arnhem Land. Nor indeed is the marriage rule. This allows marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter, but forbids it with one's father's sister's daughter. To emphasize the latter [601] prohibition, a man calls his father's sister by the term for father. This reminds him that her daughter is like a sister to him, and therefore cannot (and will not) be thought of as a possible wife. In other words, only one sort of first-cousin marriage is allowed; it is the cross-cousin on his mother's side for a male, and on her father's side for a female. This is the preferred marriage, but, of course, such a spouse cannot always be obtained. Then, a man marries the child of the cross-cousin of one of his parents, or a person classified with her—a second cousin. This marriage rule and prohibition also operate amongst the natives near Lagrange in western Australia.

617 Now, however, we do come to something distinctive. Comparatively recently in the history of the region, a form of social organization has spread there from the south-west which is known as the subsection system. According to this, a person's relations, that is all the people in the community, are not only divided into about twenty kinship classes (like [601] the mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, nephew, uncle, wife's mother, mother's father, and other classes), but in addition these classes of relations are divided into eight named groups, each of which includes two or three types of relations. Thus, if I am in one subsection, my children are in another, my wife in a third, her mother in a fourth, my mother in a fifth, second cousins whom I cannot marry in a sixth, and so on. In most tribes, too, my son's son and my father's father are in my own subsection, while my son and

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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602 miles away and belong to a horde of hereditary enemies.

602 1177 Yulengor imagine that white people belong to tribal groups similar to their own, and that everyone in them is related. They were incredulous, and thought we were joking, when we told them that there were thousands of white folk whom we had never seen, and that my wife and I had not known each other until shortly before we were married, and that our marriage was of our own choice and freewill.

A government medical officer, accompanied by a lady, came by plane to inspect the station, and Yulengor women asked my wife to explain the relationship between the airman and his passenger, for they had heard that she was not his wife. It was beyond their understanding that the visitors were not related, and they asked repeatedly if the lady were his sister, wife, or daughter. Finally their outraged sense of fitness was satisfied when my wife said that the lady was the sister-in-law of another government officer. This explanation was greeted with murmurs of relief, and they concluded that as all government officers must be 'brothers', one man's wife stood in the tribal relationship of 'wife' to all the other government 'brothers', and all her sisters would be similarly related to them.

582 A man marries his tribal wife, 'galei', and ordinarily she is his mother's brother's daughter. But all the daughters of a mother's brother are a man's 'galei', and if he is fortunate he may marry all of them, but if there are other tribal brothers who stand in an identical relationship with these 'galei', it is unlikely that one man will obtain them all.

●601 As a name, 'galei' is used not only for tribal wives, but also in ordinary conversation; a man applies this term to his own wives' brothers, his brothers' wives and paternal first cousins' wives. There are two dozen similar terms, and some of them cover as many as sixteen different types of relatives, that are as distant as the four varieties of galei. Others are

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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murulkurr' (referring to wives' mothers' brothers), and 601 ●
'nguti walkurr' (wives' mothers' mothers' brothers). In all I traced over one hundred different relationships, of which only about one-third had English equivalents. Fortunately for us, modern society does not recognize the remainder, for some of them are involved and interminable—such as 'mumulkurr', who may be wives' maternal grandmothers, or grandmother's brothers' wives, or maternal uncles' wives' mothers.

There are several groups of loosely knit hordes in Arnhem 619
Land. In the west from Cape Don to the Liverpool River, thirty hordes are associated in common society, each speaking similar dialects, but, as a social group, having no intercourse other than that of a warlike nature with adjacent horde-groups. Again, immediately east of Cape Stewart, and extending to Blue Mud Bay, two hundred and fifty miles away, is the group of thirty-six hordes amongst whom I spent most of my time. A peculiarity of these large independent groups is that they are nameless, though occasionally reference may be made to 'island people' or 'mountain folk'. Yulengor from the Murungga Island horde are frequently called 'Murrnggin'. Hordes in the Gulf country call those in the west 'Meerwaitj', which means 'Where the sun goes down', and the Meerwaitj vaguely refer to the eastern Yulengor as 'Wornba' or 'Where the sun gets up'. These are only vague local references; the social group as a whole is nameless.

Throughout Arnhem Land many sacred trees, wells, 773
creeks, springs, reefs, and peculiar rocks, were visited by the 778
creative Ancestors, and here they performed important acts and instructed their children in their lore. Yams and digging-sticks, used first by the Ancestors, are linked to a [779]
totemic well where the earliest nomads were taught to dig for food, and at another creek the pandanus palm umbrella mat, 'Ngunmurra', was first introduced.